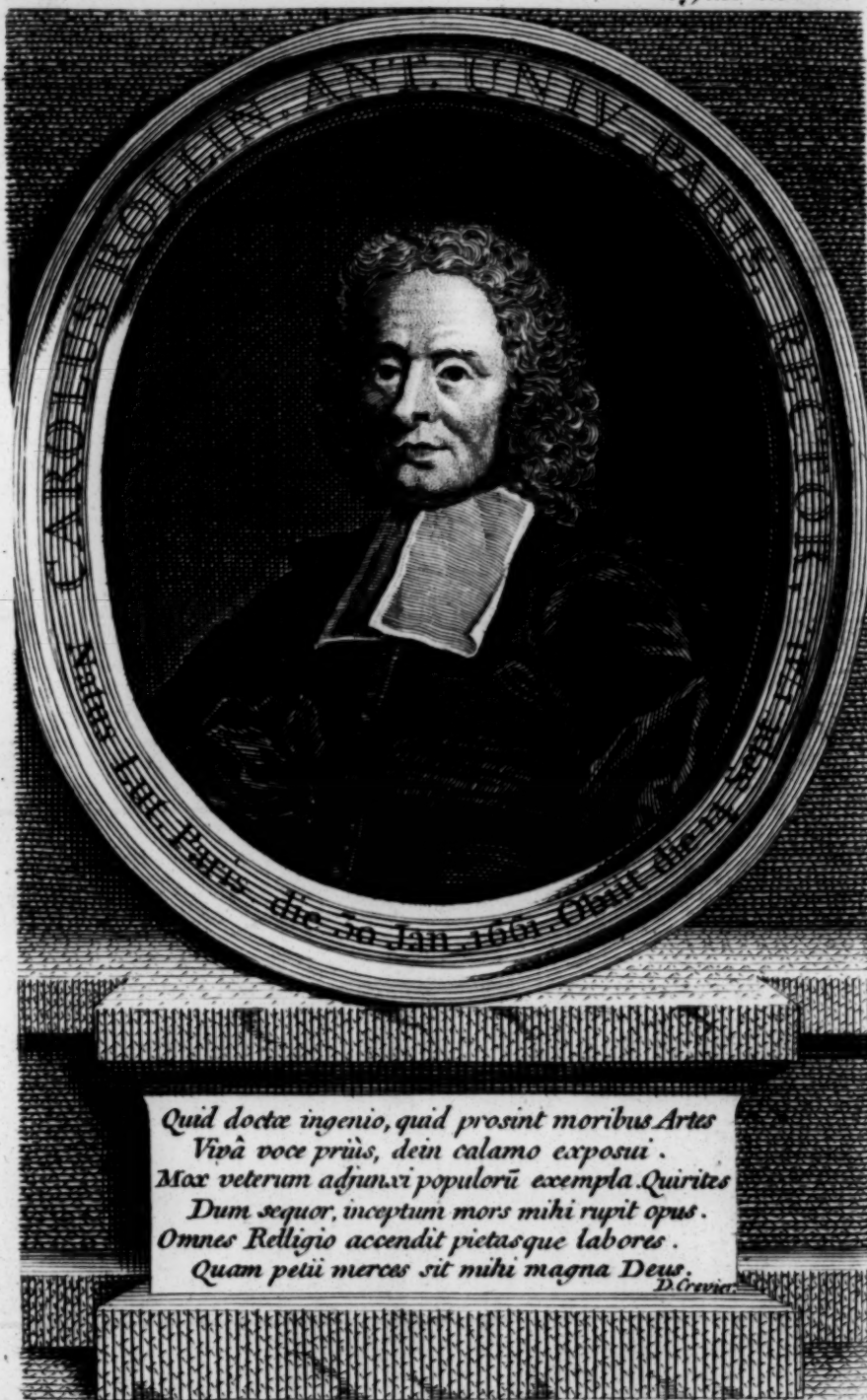


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Impensis I. & P. Knapton, Londini, 1754

G. Vertue Sculp.

THE
ANCIENT HISTORY
OF THE

EGYPTIANS, MEDES and PERSIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS, MACEDONIANS,
ASSYRIANS, AND
BABYLONIANS, GRECIANS.

By Mr. ROLLIN,
*Late Principal of the University of Paris, Professor of Eloquence
in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of
Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres.*

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN TEN VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

THE EIGHTH EDITION,
Illustrated with Copper-Plates.

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R. BALDWIN.

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A P P R O B A T I O N.

Paris, 3 Sept. 1729.

I HAVE read, by order of the Lord-keeper, a manuscript entitled, *The ancient history of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Persians, Macedonians, and Greeks, &c.* In this work appears the same principles of religion, of probity, and the same happy endeavours to improve the minds of youth, which are so conspicuous in all the writings of this author. The present work is not confined merely to the instruction of young people, but may be of service to all persons in general, who will now have an opportunity of reading, in their native tongue, a great number of curious events, which before were known to few except the learned.

S E C O U S S E.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Proprietors of this edition of *Rollin's Ancient History* beg leave to inform the publick, that the original was published by the author at different times ; which rendered it necessary for him to write a particular preface or introduction to each publication : but the whole being now completed, the editors have combined all his detached introductions into one, omitting only such passages as were either superfluous or redundant, in a collected view.



A LETTER, written by the Right Reverend
Dr. FRANCIS ATTERBURY, late Lord Bi-
shop of Rochester, to Mr. ROLLIN, in Com-
mendation of this Work.

Reverende atque Eruditissime Vir,

CUM, monente amico quodam, qui juxta ædes tuas
habitat, scirem te Parisios revertisse; statui salutatum
te ire, ut primum per valetudinem liceret. Id officii, ex
pedum infirmitate aliquandiu dilatum, cum tandem me
impleturum sperarem, frustra fui; domi non eras. Restat,
ut quod coram exequi non potui, scriptis saltem literis
præstem; tibi que ob ea omnia, quibus à te auctus sum,
beneficia, grates agam, quas habeo certe, & semper habi-
turus sum, maximas.

Reverà munera illa librorum nuperis à te annis editorum
egregia hac perhondrifca mihi visa sunt. Multi enim
facio, & te, vir præstantissime, & tua omnia quæcunque
in isto literarum genere perpolita sunt; in quo quidem Te
cæteris omnibus ejusmodi scriptoribus facile antecellere,
atque esse eundem & dicendi & sentiendi magistrum opti-
mum, prorsus existimo: cumque in excolendis his studiis
aliquantulum ipse & operæ & temporis posuerim, liberè
tamen profiteor me, tua cum legam ac relegam, ea edoctum
esse à te, non solum quæ nesciebam prorsus, sed etiam quæ
antea didicisse mihi visus sum. Modestè itaque nimium
de opere tuo sentis, cum juventuti tantum instituendæ
elaboratum id esse contendis. Ea certè scribis, quæ à viris
istiusmodi rerum haud imperitis, cum voluptate & fructu
legi possunt. Vetera quidem, & satis cognita revocas in
memoriam; sed ita revocas, ut illustres, ut ornes; ut
aliquid vetustis adjicias quod novum sit, alienis quod om-
nino tuum: bonasque picturas bonâ in luce collocando
efficis, ut etiam iis, à quibus sæpissimè conspectæ sunt,
elegantiores tamen solito appareant, & placeant magis.

Certè, dum Xenophontem sæpiùs versas, ab illo & ea quæ à te plurimis in locis narrantur, & ipsum ubique narrandi modum videris traxisse, stylique Xenophonte nitorem ac venustam simplicitatem non imitari tantum, sed planè assequi: ita ut si Gallicè scisset Xenophon, non aliis illum, in eo argumento quod tractas, verbis usurum, non alio prorsus more scripturum judicem.

Hæc ego, haud assentandi causâ (quod vitium procul à me abest) sed verè ex animi sententiâ dico. Cum enim pulchris à te donis ditatus sim, quibus in eodem, aut in alio quopiam doctrinæ genere referendis imparem me sentio, volui tamen propensi erga te animi gratique testimonium proferre, & te aliquo saltem munusculo, etsi perquam dissimili, remunerari.

Perge, vir docte admodum & venerande, de bonis literis, quæ nunc neglectæ passim & sprete jacent, benè mereri: perge juventutem Gallicam (quando illi solummodo te utilem esse vis) optimis & præceptis & exemplis informare.

Quod ut facias, annis ætatis tuæ elapsis multos adjiciat Deus! hisque decurrentibus sanum te præstet atque incolūmen. Hoc ex animo optat ac vovet

Tui observantissimus

FRANCISCUS ROFFENSIS.

Pransurum te mecum post festa dixit mihi amicus ille noster qui tibi vicinus est. Cum statueris tecum quo die adfuturus es, id illi significabis. Me certè annis malisque debilitatum, quandocunque veneris, domi invenies.

6^o Kal. Jan. 1736.

A LETTER written by the Right Reverend
Dr. FRANCIS ATTERBURY, late Lord Bi-
shop of Rochester, to Mr. ROLLIN, in Com-
mendation of this Work.

Reverend and most Learned Sir,

WHEN I was informed by a friend who lives near you, that you were returned to Paris, I resolved to wait on you, as soon as my health would admit. After having been prevented by the gout for some time, I was in hopes at length of paying my respects to you at your house, and went thither, but found you not at home. It is incumbent on me therefore to do that in writing, which I could not in person, and to return you my acknowledgements for all the favours you have been pleased to confer upon me, of which, I beg you will be assured that I shall always retain the most grateful sense.

And indeed I esteem the books you have lately published, as presents of exceeding value, and such as do me very great honour. For I have the highest regard, most excellent Sir, both for you, and for every thing that comes from so masterly a hand as yours, in the kind of learning you treat; in which I must believe that you not only excel all other writers, but are at the same time the best master of speaking and thinking well; and I freely confess that, though I had applied some time and pains in cultivating these studies, when I read your volumes over and over again, I was instructed in things by you, of which I was not only entirely ignorant, but seemed to myself to have learned before. You have therefore too modest an opinion of your work, when you declare it composed solely for the instruction of youth. What you write may undoubtedly be read with pleasure and improvement by persons not unacquainted in learning of the same kind. For whilst you call to mind ancient facts and things sufficiently known, you do it in such a manner, that you illustrate, you embellish them; still adding something new to the old,

something entirely your own to the labours of others : By placing good pictures in a good light, you make them appear with unusual elegance and more exalted beauties, even to those who have seen and studied them most.

In your frequent correspondence with Xenophon, you have certainly extracted from him, both what you relate in many places, and every where his very manner of relating ; you seem not only to have imitated but attained the shining elegance and beautiful simplicity of that author's style : so that had Xenophon excelled in the French language, in my judgement, he would have used no other words, nor written in any other method, upon the subject you treat, than you have done.

I do not say this out of flattery (which is far from being my vice) but from my real sense and opinion. As you have enriched me with your fine presents, which I know how incapable I am of repaying either in the same, or in any other kind of learning, I was willing to testify my gratitude and affection for you, and at least to make you some small, though exceedingly unequal, return.

Go on, most learned and venerable Sir, to deserve well of sound literature, which now lies universally neglected and despised. Go on, in forming the youth of France (since you will have their utility to be your sole view) upon the best precepts and examples.

Which that you may effect, may it please God to add many years to your life, and during the course of them to preserve you in health and safety. This the earnest wish and prayer of

Your most obedient servant,

FRANCIS ROFFEN.

P. S. Our friend, your neighbour, tells me you intend to dine with me after the holidays. When you have fixed upon the day, be pleased to let him know it. Whenever you come, you will be sure to find one, so weak with age and ills as I am, at home.

December 26, 1731.

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P R E F A C E.

The Utility of PROFANE HISTORY, *especially with regard to* RELIGION.

THE study of profane history would be unworthy of a serious attention, and of a considerable length of time, if it were confined to the dry knowledge of ancient transactions, and an unpleasing enquiry into the æras when each of them happened. It little concerns us to know, that there was once such men as Alexander, Cæsar, Aristides, or Cato, and that they lived in this or that period; that the empire of the Assyrians made way for that of the Babylonians, and the latter for the empire of the Medes and Persians, who were themselves subjected by the Macedonians, as these were afterwards by the Romans. But it highly concerns us to know, by what methods those empires were founded; the steps by which they rose to the exalted pitch of grandeur we so much admire; what it was that constituted their true glory and felicity, and what were the causes of their declension and fall.

What is to be observed in history, besides the events and chronology.

1. The causes of the rise and fall of empires.

It is of no less importance to study attentively the manners of different nations; their genius, laws, and customs; and especially to acquaint ourselves with the character and disposition, the talents, virtues, and even vices of those men by whom they were governed; and whose good or bad qualities contributed to the grandeur or decay of the states over which they presided.

2: The genius and character of nations and of the great persons that governed them

Such are the great objects which ancient history presents; exhibiting to our view all the kingdoms and empires of the world; and, at the same time, all the great

men who are any ways conspicuous; thereby instructing us, by example rather than precept, in the arts of empire and war, the principles of government, the rules of policy, the maxims of civil society, and the conduct of life that suits all ages and conditions.

3. *The origin and progress of arts and sciences.*

We acquire at the same time, another knowledge which cannot but excite the attention of all persons who have a taste and inclination for polite learning; I mean, the manner in which arts and sciences were invented, cultivated, and improved; we there discover and trace, as it were with the eye, their origin and progress; and perceive with admiration, that the nearer we approach those countries which were once inhabited by the sons of Noah, in the greater perfection we find the arts and sciences; and that they seem to be either neglected or forgot, in proportion to the remoteness of nations from them; so that, when men attempted to revive those arts and sciences, they were obliged to go back to the source from whence they originally flowed.

I give only a transient view of these objects, though so very important, in this place, because I have already treated them with some extent elsewhere*.

4. *The observing, especially, the connection between sacred and profane history.*

But another object, of infinitely greater importance, claims our attention. For although profane history treats only of nations who had imbibed all the chimæras of a superstitious worship; and abandoned themselves to all the irregularities of which human nature, after the fall of the first man, became capable; it nevertheless proclaims universally the greatness of the Almighty, his power, his justice, and above all, the admirable wisdom with which his providence governs the universe.

If the † inherent conviction of this last truth raised according to Cicero's observation, the Romans above all other

* *Vol. III. and IV. Of the method of teaching and studying the Belles Letters, &c.*

† *Pietate ac religione, atque hac una sapientia quod deorum immor-*

talium numine omnia regi gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes nationesque superavimus. Orat. de Aruf. resp. n. 19.



other nations ; we may in like manner, affirm, that nothing gives history a greater superiority to many other branches of literature, than to see in a manner imprinted, in almost every page of it, the precious footsteps and shining proofs of this great truth, viz. that God disposes all events as supreme lord and sovereign ; that he alone determines the fate of kings and the duration of empires ; and that he, for reasons inscrutable to all but himself, transfers the government of kingdoms from one nation to another.

We discover this important truth in going back to the most remote antiquity, and the origin of profane history ; I mean, to the dispersion of the posterity of Noah into the several countries of the earth where they settled. Liberty, chance, views of interest, a love for certain countries, and such like motives, were, in outward appearance, the only causes of the different choice which men made in these various migrations. But the scriptures inform us, that amidst the trouble and confusion that followed the sudden change in the language of Noah's descendents, God presided invisibly over all their counsels and deliberations ; that nothing was transacted but by the Almighty's appointment ; and that he only guided * and settled all mankind agreeably to the dictates of his mercy and justice (a) *The Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of the earth.*

We must therefore consider as an indisputable principle, and as the basis and foundation to the study of profane history, that the providence of the Almighty has, from all eternity, appointed the establishment, duration, and destruction of kingdoms and empires, as well in regard to the general plan of the whole universe, known only to God, who constitutes the order and wonderful harmony of its several parts ;

B 2

(a) Gen. xi. 8, 9.

* *The ancients themselves, according to Pindar (Olymp. Od. vii.) retained some idea, that the dispersion of men was not the effect of chance,*

but that they had been settled in different countries by the appointment of providence.

God only has fixed the fate of all empires both with respect to his own people, and the reign of his Son.

parts; as particularly with respect to the people of Israel, and still more with regard to the Messiah, and the establishment of the church, which is his great work, the end and design of all his other works, and ever present to his sight: (c) *Notum à seculo est Domino opus suum.*

God has vouchsafed to discover to us in holy scripture, a part of the relation of the several nations of the earth to his own people; and the little so discovered, diffuses great light over the history of those nations, of whom we shall have but a very imperfect idea, unless we have recourse to the inspired writers. They alone display, and bring to light, the secret thoughts of princes, their incoherent projects, their foolish pride, their impious and cruel ambition: they reveal the true causes and hidden springs of victories and overthrows; of the grandeur and declension of nations; the rise and ruin of states; and teach us what judgment the Almighty forms both of princes and empires, and consequently, what idea we ourselves ought to entertain of them.

As God appointed some princes to be the instruments of his vengeance, he made others the dispensers of his goodness. He ordained Cyrus to be the deliverer of his people; and, to enable him to support with dignity so glorious a function, he endued him with all the qualities which constitute the greatest captains and princes; and caused that excellent education to be given him, which the heathens so much admired, though they neither knew the author or true cause of it.

We see in profane history the extent and swiftness of his conquests, the intrepidity of his courage, the wisdom of his views and designs; his greatness of soul, his noble generosity; his truly paternal affection for his subjects; and, in them, the grateful returns of love and tenderness, which made them consider him rather as their protector and father, than their lord and sovereign. We find, I say all these particulars in profane history; but we do not perceive the secret principle of so many exalted qualities nor the hidden spring which set them in motion.

But

But Isaiah affords us this light, and delivers himself in words suitable to the greatness and majesty of the God who inspired him. He * represents this all-powerful God of armies as leading Cyrus by the hand, marching before him, conducting him from city to city, and from province to province; *subduing nations before him, loosing the loins of kings, breaking in pieces gates of brass, cutting in sunder the bars of iron, throwing down the walls and bulwarks of cities, and putting him in possession of the treasures of darkness, and the hidden riches of secret places.*

(q) The prophet also tells us the cause and motive of all these wonderful events. It was in order to punish Babylon, and to deliver Judah, that the Almighty conducts Cyrus, step by step, and gives success to all his enterprises. (r) *I have raised him up in righteousness, and I will direct all his ways.—For Jacob my servant's sake, and Israel mine elect.* But this prince is so blind and ungrateful, that he does not know his master, nor remember his benefactor. (s) *I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me,—I girded thee, though thou hast not known me.*

Men seldom form to themselves a right judgement of true glory, and the duties essential to regal power. The scripture only gives us a full idea of them, and this it does in a wonderful manner, (t) under the image of a very large and strong tree, whose top reaches to heaven, and whose branches extend to the extremities of the earth. As its foliage is very abundant, and it is bowed down with fruit, it constitutes the ornament and felicity of the plains around it. It supplies

B 3

(q) Isa. xlv. 13, 14.

(s) Chap. xlv. 4, 5.

* Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him; and I will loose the loins of kings to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut.

I will go before thee, and make the crooked places straight; I will break

(r) Isa. xlv. 13, 4.

(t) Dan. iv. 7, 9.

in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron.

And I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places, that thou mayest know that I the lord, which call thee by thy name, am the God of Israel, Isa. xlv. 1—3.

plies a grateful shade, and a secure retreat to beasts of every kind : animals, both wild and tame, are safely lodged under its hospitable branches ; the birds of heaven dwell in the boughs of it, and it supplies food to all living creatures.

Can there be a more just or more instructive idea of the kingly office, whose true grandeur and solid glory does not consist in that splendour, pomp, and magnificence which surround it ; nor in that reverence and exterior homage which are paid to it by subjects ; but in the real services and solid advantages it procures to nations, whose support, defence, security, and asylum it forms (both from its nature and institution) at the same time that it is the fruitful source of terrestrial blessings of every kind ; especially with regard to the poor and weak, who ought to find, beneath the shade and protection of royalty, a sweet peace and tranquillity not to be interrupted or disturbed ; whilst the monarch himself sacrifices his ease, and experiences alone those storms and tempests from which he shelters all others ?

Methinks the reality of this noble image, and the execution of this great plan (religion only excepted) appears in the government of Cyrus, of which Xenophon has given us a picture, in his beautiful preface to the history of that prince. He has there specified a great number of nations, which, though far distant one from another, and differing widely in their manners, customs, and language, were however all united, by the same sentiments of esteem, reverence, and love for a prince, whose government they wished, if possible, to have continued for ever, so much happiness and tranquillity did they enjoy under it*.

*A just idea of
the conquerors of
antiquity.*

To this amiable and salutary government, let us oppose the idea which the sacred writings give us of those monarchs and conquerors so much boasted by antiquity, who, instead of making the happiness of mankind the sole object of their care, were prompted by no other motives

than

* Εδυνήθη ἐπιθυμίαν ἐμκαλεῖν τοιαύτην τῇ παντὶ αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι, ὥς ἐστι τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ ἀξίῳ κτεριᾶσθαι.

than those of interest and ambition. (u) The holy spirit represents them under the symbols of monsters generated from the agitation of the sea, from the tumult, confusion and dashing of the waves one against the other; and under the image of cruel wild beasts, which spread terror and desolation universally, and are for ever gorging themselves with blood and slaughter. How strong and expressive is this colouring!

Nevertheless, it is often from such destructive models, that the rules and maxims of the education generally bestowed on the children of the great are borrowed; and it is these ravagers of nations, these scourgers of mankind, they propose to make them resemble. By inspiring them with the sentiments of a boundless ambition, and the love of false glory, they become (to borrow an expression from scripture) (x) *young lions; they learn to catch the prey, and devour men—to lay waste cities, to turn lands and their fatness into desolation by the noise of their roaring.* And when this young lion is grown up, God tells us, that the noise of his exploits, and the renown of his victories, are nothing but a frightful roaring, which fills all places with terror and desolation.

The examples I have hitherto mentioned, and which are extracted from the history of the Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians, prove sufficiently the supreme power exercised by God over all empires; and the relation he thought fit to establish between the rest of the nations of the earth, and his own peculiar people. The same truth appears as conspicuously under the kings of Syria and Egypt, successors of Alexander the Great: between whose history, and that of the Jews under the Maccabees, every body knows the close connection.

To these incidents I cannot forbear adding another, which; though universally known, is not therefore the less remarkable; I mean the taking of Jerusalem by

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Titus,

(u) Dan. vii.

(x) Ezek. xix. 3, 7.

Titus. (y) When he had entered that city, and viewed all the fortifications of it, this prince, though a heathen, owned the all-powerful arm of the God of Israel, and, in a rapture of admiration cried out, "It is manifest that the Almighty has fought for us, and has driven the Jews from those towers, since neither the utmost human force, nor that of all the engines in the world, could have effected it."

God has always disposed of human events, relatively to the reign of the Messiah. Besides the visible and sensible connexion of sacred and profane history, there is another more sacred and more distinct relation with respect to the Messiah, for whose coming the Almighty, whose work was ever present to his sight, prepared mankind from far, even by the state of ignorance and dissoluteness in which he suffered them to be immersed during four thousand years. It was to shew the necessity there was of our having a mediator, that God permitted the nations to walk after their own ways; and that neither the light of reason, nor the dictates of philosophy, could dispel their clouds of error, or reform their depraved inclinations.

When we take a view of the grandeur of empires, the majesty of princes, the glorious actions of great men, the order of civil societies, and the harmony of the different members of which they are composed, the wisdom of legislators and the learning of philosophers, the earth seems to exhibit nothing to the eye of man but what is great and resplendent; nevertheless, in the eye of God, it was equally barren and uncultivated, as at the first instant of the creation by the Almighty *fiat*. (z) *The earth was WITHOUT FORM AND VOID.* This is saying but little: it was wholly polluted and impure (the reader will observe that I speak here of the heathens) and appeared, to God, only as the haunt and retreat of ungrateful and perfidious men, as it did at the time of the flood. (a) the earth was corrupt before God, and was filled with iniquity.

Nevertheless the sovereign arbiter of the universe, who, pursuant to the dictates of his wisdom, dispenses both

light

(y) Joseph. l. iii. c. 46. (z) Gen. i. 3. (a) Chap. vi. 11.

light and darkness, and knows how to check the impetuous torrent of human passions, would not permit mankind, though abandoned to the utmost corruptions, to degenerate into absolute barbarity, and brutalize themselves in a manner, by the extinction of the first principles of the law of nature, as is seen in several savage nations. Such an obstacle would have retarded too much the rapid course promised by him to the first preachers of the doctrine of his son.

He darted from far, into the minds of men, the rays of several great truths, to dispose them for the reception of others of a more important nature. He prepared them for the instructions of the Gospel, by those of philosophers; and it was with this view that God permitted the heathen professors to examine, in their schools, several questions, and establish several principles, which are nearly allied to religion; and to engage the attention of mankind, by the spirit and beauty of their disputations. It is well known, that the philosophers inculcate in every part of their writings, the existence of a God, the necessity of a Providence that presides in the government of the world, the immortality of the soul, the ultimate end of man, the reward of the good and punishment of the wicked, the nature of those duties which constitute the band of society, the character of the virtues that are the basis of morality, as prudence, justice, fortitude, temperance, and such like truths, which, though incapable of guiding men to righteousness, yet they were of use to scatter certain clouds, and to dispel certain obscurities.

It is by an effect of the same providence, which prepared, from far, the ways of the gospel, that, when the Messiah revealed himself in the flesh, God had united together a great number of nations, by the Greek and Latin tongues; and had subjected to one monarch, from the ocean to the Euphrates, all the people not united by language, in order to give a more free course to the preaching of the apostles. When profane history is studied with judgment and maturity it must lead us to these

reflexions, and point out to us the manner in which the Almighty makes the empires of the earth subservient to the reign of his son.

*Exterior talents
indulged to the
heathens.*

It ought likewise to teach us the value of all that glitters most in the eye of the world, and is most capable of dazzling it. Valour, fortitude, skill in government, profound policy, merit in magistracy, capacity for the most abstruse sciences, beauty of genius, universal taste, and perfection in all arts: these are the objects which profane history exhibits to us, which excite our admiration, and often our envy. But at the same time this very history ought to remind us, that the Almighty, ever since the creation, has indulged to his enemies all those shining qualities which the world esteems, and on which it frequently bestows the highest eulogiums; and, on the contrary, that he often refuses them to his most faithful servants, whom he endues with talents of an infinitely superior nature, though men neither know their value, nor are desirous of them. (b) *Happy is that people that is in such a case: yea, happy is that people, whose God is the Lord.*

*We must not be
too profuse in our
applauses of them*

I shall conclude this first part of my preface with a reflection which results naturally from what has been said. Since it is certain, that all these great men, who are so much boasted of in profane history, were so unhappy as not to know the true God, and to displease him; we should therefore be particularly careful not to extol them too much. * St. Austin, in his Retractions, repents his having lavished so many encomiums on Plato, and the followers of his philosophy; because these, says he, were impious men, whose doctrine, in many points, was contrary to that of Jesus Christ.

However, we are not to imagine, that St. Austin supposes it to be unlawful for us to admire and peruse whatever

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(b) Psal. cxliv. 15.

* Laus ipsa, qua Platonem vel Platonius seu academicos philosophos tantum extuli, quantum impios homines non oportuit, non im-

merito mihi displicuit; præsertim quorum contra erroneas magnas defendenda est Christiana doctrina. *Retract.* l. i. c. 1.

is either beautiful in the actions, or true in the maxims of the heathens. He * only advises us to correct all such things as are faulty, and to approve whatever is conformable to the right and the just in them. He applauds the Romans on many occasions, and particularly in his books (c) *De civitate Dei*, which is one of the last and finest of his works. He there shews, that the Almighty raised them to be victorious over nations, and sovereigns of a great part of the earth, because of the gentleness and equity of their government (alluding to the happy ages of the commonwealth :) thus bestowing on virtues, that were merely human, rewards of the same kind with which that people, though very judicious in other respects, were so happy to content themselves. St. Austin therefore does not condemn the encomiums which are bestowed on the heathens, but only the excess of them.

Students ought to take care, and especially we, who by the duties of our profession are obliged to be perpetually conversant with heathen authors, not to enter too far into the spirit of them; not to imbibe unperceived their sentiments, by lavishing too great applauses on their heroes; nor to give into excesses which the heathens indeed did not consider as such, because they were not acquainted with virtues of a purer kind. Some persons, whose friendship I esteem as I ought, and for whose learning and judgement I have the highest regard, have found this defect in some part of my work, on the *method of teaching and studying the Belles Lettres*, &c. and are of opinion, that I have gone too great lengths in the encomiums I bestow on the illustrious men of antiquity. I indeed own, that the expressions on those occasions are sometimes too strong and too unguarded; however, I imagined that I had supplied a proper corrective to this, by the hints with which I have interspersed those four volumes; and therefore, that it would be only losing time to repeat them; not to mention my having laid down,

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+ Id in quoque corrigendum, est, approbandum. *De Bapt. con.*
quod primum est; quod autem rectum *Donat. l. vii. c. 16.*

(c) Lib. v. cap. 19, 21, &c.

in different places, the principles which the fathers of the church establish on this head, in declaring with St. Austin, that without true piety, that is, without a sincere worship of God there can be no true virtue; and that no virtue can be such, whose object is worldly glory; a truth says this father, acknowledged universally by those who are inspired with real and solid piety. (d) *Illud constat inter omnes veraciter pios, neminem sine vera pietate, id est Dei vero cultu, veram posse habere virtutem; nec eam veram esse, quando gloria servet humanæ.*

(e) When I observed that Perseus had not resolution enough to kill himself, I did not thereby pretend to justify the practice of the heathens, who looked upon suicide as lawful; but simply to relate an incident, and the judgement which Paulus Æmilius passed on it. Had I barely hinted a word or two against that custom, it would have obviated all mistake, and left no room for censure.

The ostracism, employed at Athens against persons of the greatest merit; theft connived at, as one would imagine, by Lycurgus in Sparta; an equality with regard to possessions established in the same city, by the authority of the state, and things of a like nature, may admit of some difficulty. However I shall have a more immediate attention to these * particulars, when the course of the history brings me to them; and shall be proud of receiving such lights as the learned and unprejudiced may please to communicate.

In a work like that I now offer the publick, intended more immediately for the instruction of youth, it were heartily to be wished, there might not be one single thought or expression that could contribute to inculcate false or dangerous principles. When I first set about writing the present history, I proposed this for my maxim, the importance of which I perfectly conceive, but am far from imagining that I have always observed it, though

(d) *De Civitate Dei*. Lib. iii. c. 19.

(e) Vol. VI. p. 385.

* *This Mr. Rollin has done admirably in the several volumes of his Ancient History.*

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it was my intention to do so; and therefore on this, as on many other occasions, I shall stand in need of the reader's indulgence.

As I write principally for the instruction of youth, and for persons who do not intend to make very deep researches into ancient history, I shall not crowd this work with a sort of erudition, that otherwise might have been introduced naturally into it, but does not suit my purpose. My design is, in giving a continued series of ancient history, to extract from the Greek and Latin authors all that I shall judge most useful and entertaining, with respect to the transactions, and most instructive with regard to the reflections.

I wish it were possible for me to avoid the dry sterility of epitomes, which convey no distinct idea to the mind; and at the same time the tedious accuracy of long histories, which tire the reader's patience. I am sensible that it is difficult to steer exactly between the two extremes: and although, in the two parts of history of which this first volume consists, I have retrenched a great part of what we meet with in ancient authors, they may still be thought too long: but I was afraid of spoiling the incidents, by being too studious of brevity. However, the taste of the publick shall be my guide, to which I shall endeavour to conform hereafter.

I was happy so as not to displease the publick in my first * attempt. I wish the present work may be equally successful, but dare not raise my hopes so high. The subjects I there treated, *viz.* polite literature, poetry, eloquence, and curious pieces of history, gave me an opportunity of introducing into it, from ancient and modern authors, whatever is most beautiful, affecting, delicate and just, with regard both to thought and expression. The beauty and justness of the things themselves, which I offered the reader, made him more indulgent to the manner in which they were presented to him; and besides,

* *The method of teaching and studying the Belles Lettres, &c. The English translation (in four volumes)* of this excellent piece of criticism has gone through several editions.

besides, the variety of the subjects supplied the want of those graces which might be expected from the style and composition.

But I have not the same advantage in the present work, the choice of the subjects not being entirely at my discretion. In a series of history, an author is often obliged to introduce a great many things that are not always very affecting and agreeable, especially with regard to the origin and rise of empires; which parts are generally over-run with thorns, and offer very few flowers. However, the sequel furnishes matter of a more pleasing nature, and events that engage more strongly the reader's attention; and I shall take care to make use of whatever is most valuable in the best authors. In the mean time, I must intreat the reader to remember, that in a wide-extended and beautiful region, the eye does not every where meet with golden harvests, smiling meads, and fruitful orchards; but sees, at different intervals, wild and less cultivated tracts of land. And to use another comparison after * Pliny, some trees in the spring emulously shoot forth a numberless multitude of blossoms, which by this rich dress (the splendour and vivacity of whose colours charm the eye) proclaim a happy abundance in a more advanced season: whilst other † trees, of a less gay and florid kind, though they bear good fruits, have not however the fragrance and beauty of blossoms, nor seem to share in the joy of reviving nature. The reader will easily apply this image to the composition of history.

To adorn and enrich my own, I will be so ingenuous as to confess, that I do not scruple, nor am ashamed, to rifle wherever I come; and that I often do not cite the authors from whom I transcribe, because of the liberty

* *Arborum flos, est pleni veris indicium, & anni renascentis flos gaudium arborum. Tunc se novas aliasque quam sunt, ostendunt, tunc variis colorum picturis in certamen usque luxuriant. Sed hoc negatum plerisque. Non enim omnes florent*

& sunt tristes quædam, quæque non sentiant gaudia annorum; nec ullo flore exhilarantur, natalesve pomorum recursus annuos versicolori nuncio promittunt. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xvi. c. 25.

† *As the fig-trees.*

I take to make some slight alterations. I have made the best use in my power of the solid reflections that occur in the second and third parts of the Bishop of * Meaux's *Universal History*, which is one of the most beautiful and most useful books in our language. I have also received great assistance from the learned Dean Prideaux's *Connexion of the Old and New Testament*, in which he has traced and cleared up, in an admirable manner, the particulars relating to ancient history. I shall take the same liberty with whatever comes in my way, that may suit my design, and contribute to its perfection.

I am very sensible, that it is not so much for a person's reputation to make use of other men's labours, and that it is in a manner renouncing the name and quality of author. But I am not over fond of that title; and shall be extremely well pleased, and think myself very happy, if I can but deserve the name of a good compiler, and supply my readers with a tolerable history, who will not be over solicitous to enquire what hand it comes from, provided they are but pleased with it.

Students, with a very moderate application, may easily go through this course of history in a year, without interrupting their other studies. According to my plan, my work should be given to the highest form but one. Youths in this class are capable of pleasure and improvement from this history; and I would not have them go upon that of the Romans, till they study rhetoric.

It would have been useful, and even necessary, to have given some idea of the ancient authors from whence I have extracted the following materials. But the course itself of the history will shew this, and naturally give me an opportunity of producing them.

In the mean time, it may not be improper to take notice of the superstitious credulity objected to most of these authors, with regard to auguries, auspices, prodigies, dreams, and oracles, and, indeed, we are shocked to

The judgment we ought to form of the auguries, prodigies, and oracles of the ancients.

see

see writers so judicious in all other respects, lay it down as a kind of law, to relate these particulars with a scrupulous accuracy; and to dwell gravely on a tedious detail of low, ridiculous ceremonies, such as the flight of birds to the right or left hand, signs discovered in the smoaking entrails of beasts, the greater or less greediness of chickens in pecking corn, and a thousand such absurdities.

It must be confessed that a reader of judgement cannot, without astonishment, see the most illustrious persons among the ancients for wisdom and knowledge generals who were the least able to be influenced by popular opinions, and most sensible how necessary it is to take advantage of auspicious moments; the wisest counsels of princes perfectly well skilled in the arts of government; the most august assemblies of grave senators; in a word, the most powerful and most learned nations in all ages: to see, I say, all these so unaccountably weak as to make the decision of the greatest affairs, such as the declaring war, the giving battle, or pursuing a victory, depend on the trifling practices and customs above mentioned; deliberations that were of the utmost importance, and on which the fate and welfare of kingdoms frequently depended.

But, at the same time, we must be so just as to own, that their manners, customs, and laws, would not permit men in these ages, to dispense with the observation of these practices: That education, hereditary tradition transmitted from immemorial time, the universal belief and consent of different nations, the precepts and even examples of philosophers; that all these, I say, made the practices in question appear venerable in their eyes: And that these ceremonies, how absurd soever they may appear to us, and are really so in themselves, constituted part of the religion and publick worship of the ancients.

This was a false religion, and a mistaken worship; and yet the principle of it was laudable, and founded in nature; the stream was corrupted, but the fountain was pure.

pure. Man, when abandoned to his own ideas, sees nothing beyond the present moment. Futurity is to him an abyss invisible to the most eagle-eyed, the most piercing sagacity, and exhibits nothing, on which he may fix his views, or form any resolution with certainty. He is equally feeble and impotent with regard to the execution of his designs. He is sensible, that he is dependent entirely on a supreme power, that disposes all events with absolute authority, and which in spite of his utmost efforts and of the wisdom of the best concerted schemes, by only raising the smallest obstacles and slightest modifications, renders it impossible for him to execute his measures.

This obscurity and weakness oblige him to have recourse to a superior knowledge and power: He is forced, both by his immediate wants, and the strong desire he has to succeed in all his undertakings, to address that Being, whom he is sensible has reserved to himself alone the knowledge of futurity, and the power of disposing it as he sees fitting. He accordingly directs prayers, makes vows, and offers sacrifices, to prevail, if possible, with the Deity, to reveal himself, either in dreams, in oracles, or other signs which may manifest his will; fully convinced that nothing can happen but by the divine appointment; and that it is a man's greatest interest to know this supreme will, in order to conform his actions to it.

This religious principle of dependence on, and veneration of the Supreme Being, is natural to man: It is for ever imprinted deep in his heart; he is reminded of it, by the inward sense of his extreme indigence, and by all the objects which surround him; and it may be affirmed, that this perpetual recourse to the Deity, is one of the principal foundations of religion, and the strongest band by which man is united to his creator.

Those who were so happy as to know the true God, and were chosen to be his peculiar people, never failed to address him in all their wants and doubts, in order to obtain

obtain his succour, and the manifestation of his will. He accordingly was so gracious as to reveal himself to them; to conduct them by apparitions, dreams, oracles, and prophecies; and to protect them by miracles of the most astonishing kind.

But those who were so blind as to substitute falsehood in the place of truth, directed themselves, for the like aid, to fictitious and deceitful deities, who were not able to answer their expectations, nor recompense the homage that mortals paid them, any otherwise than by error and illusion, and a fraudulent imitation of the conduct of the true God,

Hence arose the vain observations of dreams, which, from a superstitious credulity, they mistook for salutary warnings from heaven; those obscure and equivocal answers of oracles, beneath whose veil the spirits of darkness concealed their ignorance; and, by a studied ambiguity, reserved to themselves an evasion or subterfuge, whatever might be the issue of the event. To this are owing the prognosticks, with regard to futurity, which men fancied they should find in the entrails of beasts, in the flight and singing of birds, in the aspect of the planets, in fortuitious accidents, and in the caprice of chance; those dreadful prodigies that filled a whole nation with terror, and which, as was believed, nothing could expiate but mournful ceremonies, and even sometimes the effusion of human blood: in fine, those black inventions of magick, those delusions, enchantments, sorceries, invocations of ghosts, and many other kinds of divination.

All I have here related was a received usage, observed by the heathen nations in general; and this usage was founded on the principles of that religion of which I have given a short account. We have a signal proof of this in the *Cyropedia* *, where Cambyfes, the father of Cyrus, gives that young prince such noble instructions, instructions admirably well adapted to form the great captain, and great prince. He exhorts him, above all things,

* *Xenoph. in Cyrop. l. i. p. 25, 27.*

things, to pay the highest reverence to the gods ; and not to undertake any enterprize, whether important or considerable, without first calling upon, and consulting them ; he enjoins him to honour priests and augurs, as being their ministers, and the interpreters of their will ; but yet not to trust or abandon himself implicitly and blindly to them, till he had first learnt every thing relating to the science of divination, of auguries and auspices. The reason he gives for the subordination and dependence in which kings ought to live with regard to the gods, and the necessity they are under of consulting them in all things, is this ; how clear-sighted soever mankind may be in the ordinary course of affairs, their views are always very narrow and bounded with regard to futurity ; whereas the Deity, at a single glance, takes in all ages and events. *As the gods, says Cambyfes to his son, are eternal, they know equally all things, past, present, and to come. With regard to the mortals who address them, they give salutary counsels to those whom they are pleased to favour, that they may not be ignorant of what things they ought, or ought not to undertake. If it is observed, that the deities do not give the like counsels to all men, we are not to wonder at it, since no necessity obliges them to attend to the welfare of those persons, on whom they do not vouchsafe to confer their favour.*

Such was the doctrine of the most learned and most enlightened nations, with respect to the different kinds of divination ; and it is no wonder that the authors, who wrote the history of those nations, thought it incumbent on them to give an exact detail of such particulars as constituted part of their religion and worship, and was frequently in a manner the soul of their deliberations, and the standard of their conduct. I therefore was of opinion, for the same reason, that it would not be proper for me to omit entirely, in the ensuing history, what relates to this subject, though I have however retrenched a great part of it.

Archbishop Usher is my usual guide in chronology. In the history of the Carthaginians I commonly set down

down four æras : The year from the creation of the world, which, for brevity sake, I mark thus, A. M. those of the foundation of Carthage and Rome ; and lastly, the year that precedes the birth of our Saviour, which I suppose to be the 4004th of the world ; wherein I follow Usher and others, though they suppose it to be four years earlier.

To know in what manner the states and kingdoms were founded, that have divided the universe ; the steps whereby they rose to that pitch of grandeur related in history ; by what ties families and cities united, in order to constitute one body or society, and to live together under the same laws and a common authority ; it will be necessary to trace things back, in a manner, to the infancy of the world, and to those ages in which mankind, being dispersed into different regions (after the confusion of tongues) began to people the earth.

In these early ages every father was the supreme head of his family ; the arbiter and judge of whatever contests and divisions might arise within it ; the natural legislator over his little society ; the defender and protector of those, who, by their birth, education, and weakness, were under his protection and safe-guard.

But although these masters enjoyed an independent authority, they made a mild and paternal use of it. So far from being jealous of their power, they neither governed with haughtiness, nor decided with tyranny. As they were obliged by necessity to associate their family in their domestick labours, they also summoned them together, and asked their opinion in matters of importance. In this manner all affairs were transacted in concert, and for the common good.

The laws which the paternal vigilance established in this little domestick senate, being dictated in no other view, but to promote the general welfare ; concerted with such children as were come to years of maturity, and accepted by the inferiors, with full and free consent ; were religiously kept and preserved in families as an hereditary

hereditary polity, to which they owed their peace and security.

But different motives gave rise to different laws. One man, overjoyed at the birth of a first-born son, resolved to distinguish him from his future children, by bestowing on him a more considerable share of his possessions, and giving him a greater authority in his family. Another, more attentive to the interest of a beloved wife or darling daughter, whom he wanted to settle in the world, thought it incumbent on him to secure their rights and increase their advantages. The solitary and cheerless state to which a wife would be reduced, in case she should become a widow, affected more intimately another man, and made him provide, beforehand, for the subsistence and comfort of a woman who formed his felicity.

In proportion as every family increased, by the birth of children, and their marrying into other families, they extended their little domain, and formed, by insensible degrees, towns and cities. From these different views, and others of the like nature, arose the different customs of nations, as well as their rights, which are various.

These societies growing, in process of time, very numerous; and the families being divided into various branches, each of which had its head, whose different interests and characters might interrupt the general tranquillity; it was necessary to entrust one person with the government of the whole, in order to unite all these chiefs or heads under a single authority, and to maintain the publick peace by an uniform administration. The idea which men still retained of the paternal government, and the happy effects they had experienced from it, prompted them to choose from among their wisest and most virtuous men, him in whom they had observed the tenderest and most fatherly disposition. Neither ambition or cabal had the least share in this choice; probity alone, and the reputation of virtue and equity, decided on these

these occasions, and gave the preference to the most worthy *.

To heighten the lustre of their newly-acquired dignity, and enable them the better to put the laws in execution, as well as to devote themselves entirely to the public good ; to defend the state against the invasions of their neighbours, and the factions of discontented citizens ; the title of king was bestowed upon them, a throne was erected, and a sceptre put into their hands ; homage was paid them, officers were assigned, and guards appointed for the security of their persons ; tributes were granted ; they were invested with full powers to administer justice, and for this purpose were armed with a sword, in order to restrain injustice, and punish crimes †.

At first, every city had its particular king, who, being more solicitous of preserving his dominion than of enlarging it, confined his ambition within the limits of his native country. But the almost unavoidable feuds which break out between neighbours ; the jealousy against a more powerful king ; the turbulent and restless spirit of a prince ; his martial disposition, or thirst of aggrandizing himself and displaying his abilities ; gave rise to wars, which frequently ended in the entire subjection of the vanquished, whose cities were by that means possessed by the victor, and increased insensibly his dominions. ‡ Thus, a first victory paving the way to a second, and making a prince more powerful and enterprising, several cities and provinces were united under one monarch, and formed kingdoms of a greater or less extent, according to the degree of ardour with which the victor had pushed his conquests.

The ambition of some of these princes being too vast to confine itself within a single kingdom, it broke over all bounds.

* Quos ad fastigium hujus majestatis non ambitio popularis, sed spectata inter bonos moderatio provehebat. *Justin.* l. i. c. 1.

† Fines imperii tueri magis quam proferre mos erat intra suum cuique patriam regna finiebantur.

Justin l. i. c. i.

‡ Domitis proximis, cum accessione virium fortior ad alios transiret & proxima quæque victoria instrumentum sequentis esset, totius orientis populos subegit. *Justin.* ibid.

bounds, and spread universally like a torrent, or the ocean; swallowed up kingdoms and nations; and gloried in depriving princes of their dominions, who had not done them the least injury; in carrying fire and sword into the most remote countries, and in leaving, every where, bloody traces of their progress! such was the origin of those famous empires which included a great part of the world.

Princes made a various use of victory, according to the diversity of their dispositions or interests. Some, considering themselves as absolute masters of the conquered, and imagining they were sufficiently indulgent in sparing their lives, bereaved them, as well as their children of their possessions, their country, and their liberty; subjected them to a most severe captivity; employed them in those arts which are necessary for the support of life, in the lowest and most servile offices of the house, in the painful toils of the field; and frequently forced them, by the most inhuman treatment, to dig in mines, and ransack the bowels of the earth, merely to satiate their avarice; and hence mankind were divided into freemen and slaves, masters and bondmen.

Others introduced the custom of transporting whole nations into new countries, where they settled them, and gave them lands to cultivate.

Other princes again, of more gentle dispositions, contented themselves with only obliging the vanquished nations to purchase their liberties, and the enjoyment of their lives and privileges, by annual tributes laid on them for that purpose; and sometimes they would suffer kings to sit peaceably on their thrones, upon condition of their paying them some kind of homage.

But such of these monarchs as were the wisest and ablest politicians, thought it glorious to establish a kind of equality betwixt the nations newly conquered, and their other subjects; granting the former almost all the rights and privileges which the others enjoyed. And by this means a great number of nations, that were

were spread over different and far distant countries, constituted, in some measure, but one city, at least but one people.

Thus I have given a general and concise idea of mankind, from the earliest monuments which history has preserved on this subject, the particulars whereof I shall endeavour to relate, in treating of each empire and nation. I shall not touch upon the history of the Jews, or that of the Romans. I begin with the Egyptians and Carthaginians, because the former are of very great antiquity, and as the history of both is less blended with that of other nations; whereas those of other states are more interwoven, and sometimes succeed one another.

Reflections on the different Sorts of Government.

The multiplicity of governments established among the different nations, of whom I am to treat, exhibits, at first view, to the eye and to the understanding, a spectacle highly worthy our attention, and shows the astonishing variety which the sovereign of the world has constituted in the empires that divide it, by the diversity of inclinations and manners observable in each of those nations. We herein perceive the characteristics of the deity, who ever resembling himself in all the works of his creation, takes a pleasure to paint and display therein, under a thousand shapes, an infinite wisdom, by a wonderful fertility, and an admirable simplicity: a wisdom that can form a single work, and compose a whole, perfectly regular, from all the different parts of the universe, and all the productions of nature, notwithstanding the infinite manner in which they are multiplied and diversified.

In the East the form of government that prevails is the monarchical, which being attended with a majestick pomp, and a haughtiness almost inseparable from supreme authority, naturally tends to exact a more distinguished respect, and a more entire submission, from those

those in subjection to its power. When we consider Greece, one would be apt to conclude, that liberty and a republican spirit had breathed themselves into every part of that country, and had inspired almost all the different people who inhabited it with a violent desire of independence : diversified, however, under various kinds of government, but all equally abhorrent of subjection and slavery. In one part of Greece the supreme power is lodged in the people, and is what we call a *democracy* : in another, it is vested in an assembly of wise men, and those advanced in years, to which the name of *aristocracy* is given, in a third republick, the government is lodged in a small number of select and powerful persons, and is called *oligarchy* : in others again, it is a mixture of all these parts, or of several of them, and sometimes even of regal power.

It is manifest that this variety of governments, which all tend to the same point, though by different ways, contributes very much to the beauty of the universe ; and that it can proceed from no other being than him who governs it with infinite wisdom, and who diffuses universally an order and symmetry, of which the effect is to unite the several parts together, and by that means to form one work of the whole. For although in this diversity of governments, some are better than others, we nevertheless may very justly affirm, that *there is no power but of God ; and that the powers that be, are ordained of God.** But neither every use that is made of this power, nor every means for the attainment of it, are from God, though every power be of him : and when we see these governments degenerating, sometimes to violence, factions, despotick sway, and tyranny, it is wholly to the passions of mankind that we must ascribe those irregularities, which are directly opposite to the primitive institution of states, and which a superior wisdom, afterward reduces to order, always making them contribute to the execution of his designs, full of equity and justice.

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* Rom. xiii. 1.

This scene or spectacle, as I before observed, highly deserves our attention and admiration, and will display itself gradually, in proportion as I advance in relating the ancient history, of which it seems to me to form an essential part. It is with the view of making the reader attentive to this object that I think it incumbent on me to add to the account of facts and events, what regards the manners and customs of nations: because these shew their genius and character, which we may call, in the same measure, the soul of history. For to take notice only of æras and events, and confine our curiosity and researches to them, would be imitating the imprudence of a traveller, who, in visiting many countries, should content himself with knowing their exact distance from each other, and consider only the situation of the several places, the manner of building, and the dresses of the people; without giving himself the least trouble to converse with the inhabitants, in order to inform himself of their genius, manners, disposition, laws, and government. Homer, whose design was to give, in the person of Ulysses, a model of a wise and intelligent traveller, tells us, at the very opening of his *Odyssey*, that his hero informed himself very exactly in the manners and customs of the several people whose cities he visited; in which he ought to be imitated by every person who applies himself to the study of history.

A geographical Description of Asia.

As Asia will hereafter be the principal scene of the history we are now entering upon, it may not be improper to give the reader such a general idea of it, as may at least communicate some knowledge of its most considerable provinces and cities.

The northern and eastern parts of Asia are less known in ancient history.

To the north are ASIATICK SARMATIA and ASIATICK SCYTHIA, which answer to Tartary.

Sarmatia is situated between the river *Tanais*, which divides Europe and Asia, and the river *Rha*, or *Volga*. Scythia is divided into two parts; the one on this, the other on the other side of mount *Imaus*. The nations of Scythia best known to us are the *Sacæ* and the *Massagetae*.

The most eastern parts are, *SERICA*, Cathay; *SINARUM REGIO*, China; and *INDIA*. This last country was better known anciently than the two former. It was divided into two parts; the one on this side the river *Ganges*, included between that river and the *Indus*, which now composes the dominions of the Great *Mogul*; the other part, was that on the other side of the *Ganges*.

The remaining part of Asia, of which much greater mention is made in history, may be divided into five or six parts, taking it from east to west.

I. The *GREATER ASIA*, which begins at the river *Indus*. The chief provinces are, *GEDROSIA*, *CARMANIA*, *ARACHOSIA*, *DRANGIANA*, *BACTRIANA*, the capital of which was, *Bactria*; *SOGDIANA*, *MARGIANA*, *HYRCANIA*, near the *Caspian sea*; *PARTHIA*, *MEDIA*, the city *Ecbatana*; *PERSIA*, the cities of *Persepolis* and *Elymais*; *SUSIANA*, the city of *Susa*; *ASSYRIA*, the city of *Nineveh*, situated on the river *Tigris*: *MESOPOTAMIA*, between the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*; *BABYLONIA*, the city of *Babylon* on the river *Euphrates*.

II. *ASIA BETWEEN PONTUS EUXINUS AND THE CASPIAN SEA*. Therein we may distinguish four provinces. 1. *COLCHIS*, the river *Phasis*, and mount *Caucasus*. 2. *IBERIA*. 3. *ALBANIA*; which two last mentioned provinces now form part of Georgia. 4. The greater *ARMENIA*. This is separated from the lesser by the *Euphrates*; from *Mesopotamia* by mount *Taurus*; and from *Assyria* by mount *Niphates*. Its ci-

ties are *Artaxata* and *Tigranocerta*, and the river *Araxes* runs through it.

III. ASIA MINOR. This may be divided into four or five parts, according to the different situation of its provinces.

1. *Northward*, on the shore of Pontus Euxinus; PONTUS, under three different names. Its cities are, *Trapezus*, not far from whence are the people called *Chalybes* or *Chaldæi*: *Themiscyra*, a city on the river *Thermodoon*, and famous for having been the abode of the Amazons. PAPHLAGONIA, BITHYNIA; the cities of which are, *Nicia*, *Prusia*, *Nicomedia*, *Chalcedon* opposite Constantinople, and *Heraclea*.

2. *Westward*, going down by the shores of the Ægean sea; MYSIA, of which there are two. The LESSER, in which stood *Cyzicus*, *Lampsacus*, *Parium*, *Abydos* opposite to *Sestos*, from which it is separated only by the Dardanelles; *Dardanum*, *Sigæum*, *Ilion*, or *Troy*; and almost on the opposite side, the little island of *Tenedos*. The rivers are, the *Arsepe*, the *Granicus*, and the *Simois*. Mount *Ida*. This region is sometimes called Phrygia Minor, of which *Troas* is part.

The GREATER MYSIA. *Antandros*, *Trajanopolis*, *Adramyttum*, *Pergamus*. Opposite to this Mysia is the island of LESBOS; the cities of which are, *Methymna*, where the celebrated *Arion* was born; and *Mitylene*, whence the whole island was so called.

ÆOLIA. *Elea*, *Cuma*, *Phocæa*.

IONIA. *Smyrna*, *Clazomenæ*, *Teos*, *Lebedus*, *Colophon*, *Ephesus*, *Priene*, *Miletus*.

CARIA. *Laodicea*, *Antiochia*, *Magnesia*, *Alabanda*. The river *Mæander*.

DORIS. *Halicarnassus*, *Cnidos*.

Opposite to these four last countries, are the islands CHOS, SAMOS, PATHMOS, COS; and lower towards the south, RHODES.

3. *Southward*, along the Mediterranean;

LYCIA,

LYCIA, the cities of which are, *Telmessus*, *Patara*. The river *Xanthus*. Here begins mount *Taurus*, which runs the whole length of Asia, and assumes different names, according to the several countries through which it passes.

PAMPHYLIA. *Persia*, *Aspendus*, *Sida*.

CILICIA. *Seleucia*, *Corycium*, *Tarsus*, on the river *Cydnus*. Opposite to Cilicia is the island of *Cyprus*. The cities are, *Salamis*, *Amathus*, and *Paphos*.

4. Along the banks of the *Euphrates*, going up northward;

The LESSER ARMENIA. *Comana*, *Arabyza*, *Melitene*, *Satala*. The river *Melas*, which empties itself into the *Euphrates*.

5. Inlands.

CAPPADOCIA. The cities whereof are, *Neocæsarea*, *Comana Pontica*, *Sebastia*, *Sebastopolis*, *Diocæsarea*, *Cæsarea*, otherwise called *Mazaca*, and *Tyana*.

LYCAONIA and ISAURIA. *Iconium*, *Isauria*.

PISIDIA. *Seleuca* and *Antiochia* of *Pisidia*.

LYDIA. Its cities are, *Thyatiria*, *Sardis*, *Philadelphica*. The rivers are, *Caystrus* and *Hermus*, into which the *Pactolus* empties itself. Mount *Sipulus* and *Tmolus*.

PHRYGIA MAJOR. *Synnada*, *Apamia*.

IV. SYRIA, now named *Suria*, called under the Roman emperors, the *East*, the chief provinces of which are,

1. PALESTINE, by which name is sometimes understood all Judea. Its cities are, *Jerusalem*, *Samaria*, and *Cæsarea Palestina*. The river *Jordan* waters it. The name of Palestine is also given to the land of *Canaan*, which extended along the Mediterranean; the chief cities of which are, *Gaza*, *Ascalon*, *Azotus*, *Accaron* and *Gath*.

2. PHOENICIA, whose cities are, *Ptolemais*, *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and *Berytus*. Its mountains, *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*.

3. SYRIA, properly so called, or ANTIOCHENA; the cities whereof are, *Antiochia*, *Apamia*, *Laodicea*, and *Seleucia*.

4. COMAGENA. The city of *Samofata*.

5. COELOSYPRIA. The cities are, *Zeugma*, *Thapsacus*, *Palmyra*, and *Damascus*.

V. ARABIA PETRÆA. Its cities are, *Petra*, and *Bosra*. MOUNT CASIUS. DESERTA. FOELIX.

Of Religion.

It is observable that in all ages and regions the several nations of the world, however various and opposite in their characters, inclinations and manners, have always united in one essential point; the inherent opinion of an adoration due to a supreme being, and of external methods necessary to evidence such a belief. Into whatever country we cast our eyes, we find priests, altars, sacrifices, festivals, religious ceremonies, temples, or places consecrated to religious worship. In every people we discover a reverence and awe of the divinity; and homage and honour paid to him; and an open profession of an entire dependence upon him in all their undertakings and necessities, in all their adversities and dangers. Incapable of themselves to penetrate futurity, and to ascertain events in their own favour, we find them intent upon consulting the divinity by oracles, and by other methods of a like nature; and to merit his protection by prayers, vows, and offerings. It is by the same supreme authority they believe the most solemn treaties are rendered inviolable. It is it that gives sanction to their oaths; and to that by imprecations is referred the punishment of such crimes and enormities as escape the knowledge and power of men. On their private occasions, voyages, journies, marriages, diseases, the divinity is still invoked. With him their very repast begins and ends. No war is declared, no battle fought, no enterprize formed, without his aid being first implored;

to which the glory of the success is constantly ascribed by publick acts of thanksgiving, and by the oblation of the most precious of the spoils, which they never fail to set apart as the indispensable right of the divinity.

They never vary in regard to the foundation of this belief. If some few persons, depraved by bad philosophy, presume from time to time to rise up against this doctrine, they are immediately disclaimed by the publick voice. They continue singular and alone, without making parties, or forming sects: the whole weight of the publick authority falls upon them; a price is set upon their heads; whilst they are universally regarded as execrable persons, the bane of civil society, with whom it is criminal to have any kind of commerce.

So general, so uniform, so perpetual a consent of all the nations of the universe, which neither the prejudice of the passions, the false reasoning of some philosophers, nor the authority and example of certain princes, have ever been able to weaken or vary; can proceed only from a first principle, which shares in the nature of man; from an inherent sense implanted in his heart by the author of his being; and from an original tradition as ancient as the world itself.

Such were the source and origin of the religion of the ancients; truly worthy of man, had he been capable of persisting in the purity and simplicity of these first principles: but the errors of the mind, and the vices of the heart, those sad effects of the corruption of human nature, strangely disfigured their original beauty. They are but faint rays, small sparks of light, that a general depravity does not utterly extinguish; but they are incapable of dispelling the profound darkness of a night, which prevails almost universally, and presents nothing to view but absurdities, follies, extravagancies, licentiousness and disorder; in a word, an hideous chaos of frantick excesses and enormous vices.

Can any thing be more admirable than these maxims

of Cicero *? That we ought above all things to be convinced that there is a Supreme Being, who presides over all the events of the world, and disposes every thing as sovereign lord and arbiter: that it is to him mankind are indebted for all the good they enjoy: that he penetrates into, and is conscious of, whatever passes in the most secret recesses of our hearts: that he treats the just and the impious according to their respective merits: that the true means of acquiring his favour, and of being pleasing in his sight, is not by the use of riches and magnificence in his worship, but by presenting him an heart pure and blameless, and by adoring him with an unfeigned and profound veneration.

Sentiments so sublime and religious were the result of the reflections of the few who employed themselves in the study of the heart of man, and in tracing him to the first principles of his institution, of which they still retained some happy, though imperfect ideas. But the whole system of their religion, the tendency of their publick feasts and ceremonies, the soul of the Pagan theology, of which the poets were the only teachers and professors, the very example of the gods, whose violent passions, scandalous adventures, and abominable crimes, were celebrated in their hymns or odes, and proposed in some measure to the imitation, as well as adoration of the people; these were certainly very unfit means to enlighten the minds of men, and to form them to virtue and morality.

It is remarkable, that in the greatest solemnities of the Pagan religion, and in their most sacred and reverend mysteries, far from perceiving any thing to recommend virtue, piety, or the practice of the most essential duties of ordinary life; we find the authority of laws, the imperious

* Sit hoc jam a principio persuasum civibus: dominos esse omnium rerum ac moderatores deos, eaque quæ geruntur eorum geri judicio ac numine; eisdemque optima de genere hominum mereri; &, qualis quisque sit, quid agat, quid in se

admittat, qua mente, qua pietate religiones colat, intueri; piorumque & impiorum habere rationem. Ad di vos adeunto caste. Pietatem adhibento, opes amovento. *Cic. leg. l. ii. n. 15 & 19.*

rious power of custom, the presence of magistrates, the assembly of all orders of the state, the example of fathers and mothers, all conspire to train up a whole nation from their infancy in an impure and sacrilegious worship, under the name, and in a manner under the sanction of religion itself; as we shall soon see in the sequel.

After these general reflections upon Paganism, it is time to proceed to a particular account of the religion of the Greeks. I shall reduce this subject, though infinite in itself, to four articles, which are, 1. The feasts. 2. The oracles, augurs, and divinations. 3. The games and combats. 4. The publick shows and representations of the theatre. In each of these articles, I shall treat only of what appears most worthy of the reader's curiosity, and has most relation to this history. I omit saying any thing of sacrifices, having given a sufficient idea of them * elsewhere.

Of the Feasts.

AN infinite number of feasts were celebrated in the several cities of Greece, and especially at Athens, of which I shall only describe three of the most famous, the Panathenea, the feasts of Bacchus, and those of Eleusis.

The Panathenea.

THIS feast was celebrated at Athens in honour of Minerva, the tutelary goddess of that city, to which she gave her † name, as well as to the feast we speak of. Its institution was ancient, and it was called at first Athenea; but after Theseus had united the several towns of Attica into one city, it took the name of Panathenea. These feasts were of two kinds, the great and the less, which were solemnized with almost the same ceremonies; the less annually, and the great upon the extinction of every fourth year.

In these feasts were exhibited racing, the gymnastick combats, and the contentions for the prizes of musick and poetry. Ten commissaries elected from the ten tribes presided on this occasion to regulate the forms, and distribute the rewards to the victors. This festival continued several days.

The first day in the morning a race was run on foot, each of the runners carrying a lighted torch in his hand, which they exchanged continually with each other without interrupting their race. They started from Ceramicus, one of the suburbs of Athens, and crossed the whole city. The first that came to the goal, without having put out his torch, carried the prize. In the afternoon they ran the same course on horseback.

The gymnastick or athletick combats followed the races. The place for that exercise was upon the banks of the Ilissus, a small river, which runs through Athens, and empties itself into the sea at the Piræus.

Pericles instituted the prize of musick. In this dispute were sung the praises of Harmodius and Aristogiton, who delivered Athens from the tyranny of the Pisistratides; to which was afterwards added the Eulogium of Thrasibulus who expelled the thirty tyrants. These disputes were not only warm amongst the musicians, but much more so amongst the poets, and it was highly glorious to be declared victor in them. Æschylus is reported to have died with grief upon seeing the prize adjudged to Sophocles, who was much younger than himself.

These exercises were followed by a general procession, wherein a sail was carried with great pomp and ceremony, on which were curiously delineated the warlike actions of Pallas against the Titans and Giants. That sail was affixed to a vessel, which was called by the name of the goddess. The vessel, equipped with sails, and with a thousand oars, was conducted from Ceramicus to the temple of Eleusis, not by horses or beasts of draught, but by machines concealed in the bottom of it,

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which put the oars in motion, and made the vessel glide along.

The march was solemn and majestick. At the head of it were old men, who carried olive-branches in their hands, *θαλλοφόροι*; and these were chosen for the goodness of their shape, and the vigour of their complexion. Athenian matrons, of great age, also accompanied them in the same equipage.

The grown and robust men formed the second class. They were armed at all points, and had bucklers and lances. After them came the strangers who inhabited Athens, carrying mattocks, with other instruments proper for tillage. Next followed the Athenian women of the same age, attended by the foreigners of their own sex, carrying vessels in their hands for the drawing of water.

The third class was composed of the young persons of both sexes, and of the best families in the city. The youth wore vests, with crowns upon their heads, and sung a peculiar hymn in honour of the goddesses. The maids carried baskets, in which were placed the sacred utensils proper to the ceremony, covered with veils to keep them from the sight of the spectators. The person to whose care those sacred things were intrusted, was to have observed an exact continence for several days before he touched them, or distributed them to the Athenian virgins; * or rather, as Demosthenes says, his whole life and conduct ought to have been a perfect model of virtue and purity. It was an high honour to a young woman to be chosen for so noble and august an office, and an insupportable affront to be deemed unworthy of it. We have seen that Hipparchus treated the sister of Harmodius with this indignity, which extremely incensed the conspirators against the Pisistratides. These Athenian virgins were followed by the foreign young women, who carried umbrellas and seats for them.

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* Οὐχι προσηρημένον ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν ἀγνεύειν μένον, ἀλλὰ τὸν βίον ὅλον ἀγνεύειναι. Demost. in extrema Aristocratia.

The children of both sexes closed the pomp of the procession.

In this august ceremony, the *παῖδες* were appointed to sing certain verses of Homer; a manifest proof of their estimation for the works of that poet, even with regard to religion. Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, first introduced that custom.

I have observed elsewhere, that in the gymnastick games of this feast an herald proclaimed, that the people of Athens had conferred a crown of gold upon the celebrated physician Hippocrates, in gratitude for the signal services which he had rendered the state during the pestilence.

In this festival the people of Athens put themselves, and the whole republick, under the protection of Minerva, the tutelary goddess of their city, and implored of her all kind of prosperity. From the battle of Marathon, in these publick acts of worship, express mention was made of the Plataeans, and they were joined in all things with the people of Athens.

Feasts of Bacchus.

THE worship of Bacchus had been brought out of Egypt to Athens, where several feasts had been established in honour of that god; two particularly more remarkable than all the rest, called the great and the less feasts of Bacchus. The latter were a kind of preparation for the former, and were celebrated in the open field about autumn. They were named Lenea, from a Greek word (*a*) that signifies a wine-press. The great feasts were commonly called Dionysia, from one of the names of that god (*b*), and were solemnized in the spring within the city.

In each of these feasts the publick were entertained with games, shows, and dramattick representations, which were attended with a vast concourse of people, and exceeding magnificent, as will be seen hereafter: at the

same

(a) *ἄνθος*.

(b) *Dionysus*.

same time the poets disputed the prize of poetry, submitting to the judgment of arbitrators, expressly chosen, their pieces, whether tragick or comick, which were then represented before the people.

These feasts continued many days. Those who were initiated, mimicked whatever the poets had thought fit to feign of the god Bacchus. They covered themselves with the skins of wild beasts, carried a thyrsus in their hands, a kind of pike with ivy-leaves twisted round it. They had drums, horns, pipes, and other instruments proper to make a great noise; and wore upon their heads wreaths of ivy and vine-branches, and of other trees sacred to Bacchus. Some represented Silenus, some Pan, others the Satyrs, all drest in suitable masquerade. Many of them were mounted on asses; others dragged * goats along for sacrifices. Men and women, ridiculously transformed in this manner, appeared night and day in publick; and imitating drunkenness, and dancing with the most indecent postures, ran in throngs about the mountains and forests, screaming and howling furiously; the women especially seemed more outrageous than the men, and quite out of their senses, in their † furious transports invoked the god, whose feast they celebrated, with loud cries; εὐοῖ Βάκχε, or ὦ Βάκχε, or Ἰόβανχε, or Ἰὼ Βάνχε.

This troop of Bacchanalians was followed by the virgins of the noblest families in the city, who were called *καμφοροι*, from carrying baskets on their heads, covered with vine and ivy-leaves.

To these ceremonies others were added, obscene to the last excess, and worthy of the god who could be honoured in such a manner. The spectators were no schismatics: they gave into the prevailing humour, and were seized with the same frantick spirit. Nothing was seen but dancing, drunkenness, debauchery, and all that the most abandoned licentiousness could conceive of gross and abominable. And this an intire people, reputed the wisest

* Goats were sacrificed, because *nalians these feasts were distinguished by the name of Orgia 'Οργῆ, ira,*

† From this fury of the Baccha-
furor.

wisest of all Greece, not only suffered, but admired and practised. I say an entire people; for * Plato, speaking of the Bacchanals, says in direct terms, that he had seen the whole city of Athens drunk at once.

(c) Livy informs us, that this licentiousness of the Bacchanalians having secretly crept into Rome, the most horrid disorders were committed there under the cover of the night; besides which, all persons, who were initiated into these impure and abominable mysteries, were obliged, under the most horrid imprecations, to keep them inviolably secret. The senate, being apprized of the affair, put a stop to those sacrilegious feasts by the most severe penalties; and first banished the practisers of them from Rome, and afterwards from Italy. These examples informs us, † how far a mistaken sense of religion, that covers the greatest crimes with the sacred name of the Divinity, is capable of misleading the mind of man.

The Feast of Eleusis.

THERE is nothing in all the Pagan antiquity more celebrated than the feast of Ceres Eleusina. The ceremonies of this festival were called, by way of eminence, the mysteries, from being, according to Pausanias, as much above all others, as the gods are above men. Their origin and institution are attributed to Ceres herself, who, in the reign of Erechtheus, coming to Eleusis, a small town of Attica, in search of her daughter Proserpine, whom Pluto had carried away, and finding the country afflicted with a famine, she invented corn as a remedy for that evil, with which she rewarded the inhabitants. * She not only taught them the use of corn, but instructed

(c) Liv. l. xxxix. n. 8, 18.

* Πασαν ἰθιασαμην τὴν πόλιν περὶ τὰ Διονυσία μίθυσαν. Lib. i. de leg. p. 63.

† Nihil in speciem fallacius est numen prætenditur sceleribus. Liv. -quam prava religio, ubi deorum xxxix. n. 16.

* Multa eximia divinaque videntur Athenæ tuæ peperisse, atque in vitam

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instructed them in the principles of probity, charity, civility, and humanity; from whence her mysteries were called *δημοφóρια* and *Initia*. To these first happy lessons fabulous antiquity ascribed the courtesy, politeness, and urbanity, so remarkable amongst the Athenians.

These mysteries were divided into the less and the greater; of which the former served as a preparation for the latter. The less was solemnized in the month Anthesterion, which answers to our November; the great in the month Boedromion, or August. Only Athenians were admitted to these mysteries; but of them each sex, age, and condition, had a right to be received. All strangers were absolutely excluded; so that Hercules, Castor, and Pollux, were obliged to be adopted by Athenians, in order to their admission; which however extended only to the lesser mysteries. I shall consider principally the great, which were celebrated at Eleusis.

Those who demanded to be initiated into them, were obliged, before their reception, to purify themselves in the lesser mysteries, by bathing in the river Ilissus, by saying certain prayers, offering sacrifices, and, above all, by living in strict continence during an interval of time prescribed them. That time was employed in instructing them in the principles and elements of the sacred doctrine of the great mysteries.

When the time for their initiation arrived, they were brought into the temple; and to inspire the greater reverence and terour, the ceremony was performed in the night. Wonderful things passed upon this occasion. Visions were seen, and voices heard of an extraordinary kind. A sudden splendour dispelled the darkness of the place, and disappearing immediately, added new horrors to

vitam hominum attulisse; tum nihil melius illis mysteriis, quibus ex agresti immanique vita exculsi ad humanitatem et mitigati sumus, initiaque ut appellantur, ita revera principia vitæ cognovimus. *Cic. l. ii. de leg. n. 36.*

Teque Ceres, et Libera, quarum sacra, sicut opiniones hominum ac

religiones ferunt, longe maximis atque occultissimis ceremoniis continentur: a quibus initia vitæ atque victus, legum, morum, mansuetudinis, humanitatis exempla hominibus et civitatibus data ac dispersita esse dicuntur. *Id. Cic. in Verr. de supplic. n. 186.*

to the gloom. Apparitions, claps of thunder, earthquakes, improved the terrour and amazement; whilst the person admitted, stupid, sweating through fear, heard trembling the mysterious volumes read to him, if in such a condition he was capable of hearing at all. These nocturnal rites were attended with many disorders, which the severe law of silence, imposed on the persons initiated, prevented from coming to light, * as St. Gregory Nazianzen observes. What cannot superstition effect upon the mind of man, when once his imagination is heated? The president in this ceremony was called Hierophantes. He wore a peculiar habit, and was not admitted to marry. The first who served in this function, and whom Ceres herself instructed, was Eumolpus; from whom his successors were called Eumolpides. He had three colleagues; (d) one who carried a torch; another an herald, (e) whose office was to pronounce certain mysterious words; and a third to attend at the altar.

Besides these officers, one of the principal magistrates of the city was appointed to take care that all the ceremonies of this feast were exactly observed. He was called the king (f), and was one of the nine Archons. His business was to offer prayers and sacrifices. The people gave him four assistants (g), one chosen from the family of the Eumolpides, a second from that of the Cerycians, and the two last from two other families. He had, besides, ten other ministers to assist him in the discharge of his duty, and particularly in offering sacrifices from whence they derived their name (h).

The Athenians initiated their children of both sexes very early into these mysteries, and would have thought it criminal to have let them die without such an advantage. It was their general opinion, that this ceremony was an engagement to lead a more virtuous and regular life; that it recommended them to the peculiar protection of the goddesses, to whose service they devoted themselves; and

(d) Δαδύχ.

(e) Κηρυξ.

(f) Βασιλεὺς.

(g) Επιμεληταί.

(h) Ἱεροποιοί.

* Οἶδεν Ἐλευσίν τῶντα καὶ οἱ τῶν Σακρωμέων καὶ Σωπηγῶν αἰεὶ ἐπὶ τῇ
Orat. de sacr. lumin.

and was the means to a more perfect and certain happiness in the other world: whilst, on the contrary, such as had not been initiated, besides the evils they had to apprehend in this life, were doomed, after their descent to the shades below, to wallow eternally in dirt, filth, and excrement. (i) Diogenes the Cynick believed nothing of the matter, and when his friends endeavoured to persuade him to avoid such a misfortune, by being initiated before his death—"What (said he) shall Agesilaus and Epaminondas lie amongst mud and dung, whilst the vilest Athenians, because they have been initiated, possess the most distinguished places in the regions of the blessed?" Socrates was not more credulous; he would not be initiated into these mysteries, which was perhaps one reason that rendered his religion suspected.

(k) Without this qualification none were admitted to enter the temple of Ceres; and Livy informs us of two Acarnanians, who, having followed the croud into it upon one of the feast-days, although out of mistake and with no ill design, were both put to death without mercy. It was also a capital crime to divulge the secrets and mysteries of this feast. Upon this account Diagoras the Melian was proscribed, and had a reward set upon his head. He intended to have made the secret cost the poet Æschylus his life, from speaking too freely of it in some of his tragedies. The disgrace of Alcibiades proceeded from the same cause. * Whoever had violated the secret was avoided as a wretch accursed and excommunicated.

(i) Diogen. Laert. l. vi. p. 389.

(k) Liv. l. xxxi. n. 14.

* Est et fideli tuta silentio

Merces. Vetabo qui Cereris sacrum

Vulgarit arcanae, sub iisdem

Sit trabibus, fragilemque mecum

Solvat phaselum.

Hor. Od. II. l. iii.

Safe is the silent tongue, which none can blame,

The faithful secret merit fame;

Beneath one roof ne'er let him rest with me,

Who Ceres' mysteries reveals;

In one frail bark ne'er let us put to sea,

Nor tempt the jarring winds with spreading sails.

municated. (1) Pausanias in several passages; wherein he mentions the Temple of Eleufis, and the ceremonies practifed there, ftops fhort, and declares he cannot proceed, becaufe he had been forbade by a dream or vifion.

This feaft, the moft celebrated of profane antiquity, was of nine days continuance. It began the fifteenth of the month Boedromion. After fome previous ceremonies and facrifices on the firft three days, upon the fourth in the evening began the proceffion of *the Basket*; which was laid upon an open chariot flowly drawn by oxen †, and followed by great numbers of the Athenian women. They all carried myfterious baskets in their hands, filled with feveral things, which they took great care to conceal, and covered with a veil of purple. This ceremony represented the basket into which Proferpine put the flowers fhe was gathering when Pluto feized and carried her off.

The fifth day was called the day of *the Torches*; becaufe at night the men and women ran about with them in imitation of Ceres, who having lighted a torch at the fire of mount Ætna, wandered about from place to place in fearch of her daughter.

The fixth was the moft famous day of all. It was called Iacchus, the name of Bacchus, fon of Jupiter, and Ceres, whofe ftatue was then brought out with great ceremony, crowned with myrtle, and holding a torch in its hand. The proceffion began at Ceramicus, and paffing through the principal places of the city, continued to Eleufis. The way leading to it was called *the f acred way* and lay crofs a bridge over the river Cephifus. This proceffion was very numerous, and generally confifted of thirty thoufand perfons.

The

(1) Lib. i. p. 26, & 71.

† Tardaque Eleufinæ matris volventia plaufta.

Virg. Georg. lib. i. ver. 165.

The Elufinian mother's myftick car
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(*n*) The temple of Eleusis, where it ended, was large enough to contain the whole multitude, and Strabo says, its extent was equal to that of the theatres, which every body knows were capable of holding a much greater number of people. The whole way resounded with the sound of trumpets, clarions, and other musical instruments. Hymns were sung in honour of the goddesses, accompanied with dancing, and other extraordinary marks of rejoicing. The rout before mentioned, through the sacred way and over the Cephissus, was the usual way: but after the Lacedæmonians in the Peloponnesian war had fortified Decelia, the Athenians were obliged to make their procession by sea, till Alcibiades re-established the ancient custom.

The seventh day was solemnized by games, and the gymnastick combats, in which the victor was rewarded with a measure of barley; without doubt, because it was at Eleusis the goddess first taught the method of raising that grain, and the use of it. The two following days were employed in some particular ceremonies, neither important nor remarkable.

During this festival it was prohibited, under very great penalties, to arrest any person whatsoever, in order to their being imprisoned, or to present any bill of complaint to the judges. It was regularly celebrated every fifth year, that is, after a revolution of four years; and no history observes that it was ever interrupted, except upon the taking of Thebes by Alexander the Great (*n*). The Athenians, who were then upon the point of celebrating the great mysteries, were so much affected with the ruin of that city, that they could not resolve in so general an affliction to solemnize a festival, which breathed nothing but merriment and rejoicing (*o*). It was continued down to the time of the Christian emperors; and Valentinian would have abolished it, if Prætextatus, the proconsul of Greece, had not represented in the most lively and affecting terms, the universal sorrow which the

(*m*) Her. l. viii. c. 65. l. ix. p. 395. (*n*) Plut. in vit. Alex. p. 671.

(*o*) Zosim. hist. l. iv.

the abrogation of that feast would occasion among the people ; upon which it was suffered to subsist. It is supposed to have been finally suppressed by Theodosius the Great ; as were all the rest of the Pagan solemnities.

Of Augurs, Oracles, &c.

NOTHING is more frequently mentioned in ancient history, than oracles, augurs, and divinations. No war was made, or colony settled ; nothing of consequence was undertaken, either publick or private, without the gods being first consulted. This was a custom universally established amongst the Egyptian, Assyrian, Grecian, and Roman nations ; which is no doubt a proof, as has been already observed, of its being derived from ancient tradition, and that it had its origin in the religion and worship of the true God. It is not indeed to be questioned, but that God before the Deluge did manifest his will to mankind in different methods, as he has since done to his people, sometimes in his own person, and *visu voce*, sometimes by the ministry of angels or of prophets inspired by himself, and at other times by apparitions or in dreams. When the descendents of Noah dispersed themselves into different regions, they carried this tradition along with them, which was every where retained, though altered and corrupted by the darkness and ignorance of idolatry. None of the ancients have insisted more upon the necessity of consulting the gods on all occasions by augurs and oracles than Xenophon, and he founds that necessity, as I have more than once observed elsewhere, upon a principle deduced from the most refined reason and discernment. He represents in several places, that man of himself is very frequently ignorant of what is advantageous or pernicious to him ; that far from being capable of penetrating the future, the present itself escapes him, so narrow and short-sighted is he, in all his views, that the slightest obstacles can frustrate his greatest designs, that only the divinity, to whom all ages are pre-

sent, can impart a certain knowledge of the future to him; that no other being has power to facilitate the success of his enterprizes, and that it is reasonable to believe he will guide and protect those who adore him with the purest affection, who invoke him at all times with greatest constancy and fidelity, and consult him with most sincerity and resignation.

Of Augurs.

WHAT a reproach is it to human reason, that so bright and luminous a principle should have given birth to the absurd reasonings, and wretched notions in favour of the science of augurs and soothsayers, and been the occasion of espousing with blind devotion the most ridiculous puerilities: to make the most important affairs of state depend upon a bird's happening to sing upon the right or left hand; upon the greediness of chickens in pecking their grain; the inspection of the entrails of beasts; the liver's being entire and in good condition, which, according to them, did sometimes entirely disappear, without leaving any trace or mark of its having ever subsisted! To these superstitious observances may be added, accidental rencounters, words spoken by chance, and afterwards turned into good or bad presages, forebodings, prodigies, monsters, eclipses, comets, every extraordinary phenomenon, every unforeseen accident, with an infinity of chimæras of the like nature.

Whence could it happen, that so many great men, illustrious generals, able politicians, and even learned philosophers, have actually given into such absurd imaginations? Plutarch, in particular, so estimable in other respects, is to be pitied for his servile observance of the senseless customs of the Pagan idolatry, and his ridiculous credulity in dreams, signs and prodigies. He tells us somewhere, that he abstained a great while from eating eggs upon account of a dream, with which

he has not thought fit to make us further acquainted.

The wisest of the Pagans did not want a just sense of the art of divination, and often spoke of it to each other, and even in publick, with the utmost contempt, and in a manner sufficiently expressive of its ridicule.

The grave censor Cato was of opinion, that one soothsayer could not look at another without laughing. Hannibal was amazed at the simplicity of Prusias, whom he had advised to give battle, upon his being diverted from it by the inspection of the entrails of a victim. "What (said he) have you more confidence in the liver of a beast, than in so old and experienced a captain as I am?" Marcellus, who had been five times consul, and was augur, said, that he had discovered a method of not being put to a stand by the sinister flight of birds, which was, to keep himself close shut up in his litter.

Cicero explains himself upon augury without ambiguity or reserve. Nobody was more capable of speaking pertinently upon it than himself (as Mr. Morin observes in his dissertation upon the same subject.) As he was adopted into the college of Augurs, he had made himself acquainted with the most concealed of their secrets, and had all possible opportunity of informing himself fully in their science. That he did so, sufficiently appears from the two books he has left us upon divination, in which it may be said he has exhausted the subject. In his second, wherein he refutes his brother Quintus, who had espoused the cause of the augurs, he disputes and defeats his false reasonings with a force, and at the same time with so refined and delicate a raillery, as leaves us nothing to wish; and he demonstrates by proofs, that rise upon each other in their force, the falsity, contrariety, and impossibility of that art. * But what is very sur-

prising,

* Errabat multis in rebus antiquitas: quam vel usu jam, vel doctrina, vel vetustate immutatam videmus. Retinetur autem & ad opinionem

vulgi, & ad magnas utilitates reipublice, mos, religio, disciplina, jus augurum, collegii auctoritas. Nec vero non omni

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prising, in the midst of all his arguments, he takes occasion to blame the generals and magistrates, who on important conjunctures had contemned the prognosticks; and maintains, that the use of them, as great an abuse as it was in his own sense, ought nevertheless to be respected out of regard to religion, and the prejudice of the people.

All that I have hitherto said tends to prove, that Paganism was divided into two sects, almost equally enemies of religion; the one by their superstitious and blind regard for the augurs, the other by their irreligious contempt and derision of them.

The principle of the first, founded on one side upon the ignorance and weakness of man in the affairs of life, and on the other upon the prescience of the divinity, and his almighty providence, was true; but the consequence deduced from it, in regard to the augurs, false and absurd. They ought to have proved that it was certain, the divinity himself had established these external signs, to denote his intentions, and that he had obliged himself to a punctual conformity to them upon all occasions: but they had nothing of this kind in their system. The augurs and soothsayers therefore were the effect and invention of the ignorance, rashness, curiosity, and blind passions of man, who presumed to interrogate God, and would oblige him to give answers upon his very idle imagination and unjust enterprise.

The others, who gave no real credit to any thing advanced by the science of the augurs, did not fail however to observe their trivial ceremonies out of policy, for the better subjecting the minds of the people to themselves, and to reconcile them to their own purposes by the assistance of superstition: but by their contempt for the augurs, and the entire conviction of their falsity, they were led into a disbelief of the divine providence, and despise religion itself; conceiving it inseparable from

omni supplicio digni P. Claudius Junius consules, qui contra auspicii religioni, nec patrius mos tam contumaciter repudiantur. *Divin.* l. ii. n. 70. 71.

from the numerous absurdities of this kind, which rendered it ridiculous, and consequently unworthy a man of sense.

Both the one and the other behaved in this manner, because having mistaken the Creator, and abused the light of nature, which might have taught them to know and to adore him, they were deservedly abandoned to their own darkness and absurd opinions; and, if we had not been enlightened by the true religion, even at this day we might have given ourselves up to the same superstitions.

Of Oracles.

No country was ever richer in, or more productive of, oracles than Greece. I shall confine myself to those which were the most noted.

The oracle of Dodona, a city of the Molossians, was much celebrated; where Jupiter gave answers either by vocal * oaks, or doves, which had also their language, or by resounding basons of brass, or by the mouths of priests and priestesses.

(p) The oracles of Trophonius in Boeotia, though he was only a simple hero, were in great reputation. After many preliminary ceremonies, as washing in the river, offering sacrifices, drinking a water called Lethe, from its quality of making people forget every thing, the votaries went down into his cave by small ladders through a very narrow passage. At the bottom was another little cavern of which the entrance was also exceeding small. There they lay down upon the ground, with a certain composition of honey in each hand, which they were indispensably obliged

(p) Pausan. l. ix. p. 602, 604.

* Certain instruments were fastened to the tops of oaks, which, being shaken by the wind, or by some other means, rendered a confused sound. Servius observes, that the same word in the Thessalian language signifies dove and prophetess, which had given room for the fabulous tradition of doves that spoke. It was easy to make those brazen basons sound by some secret means, and to give what signification they pleased to a confused and inarticulate noise.

obliged to carry with them. Their feet were placed within the opening of the little cave; which was no sooner done, than they perceived themselves borne into it with great force and velocity. Futurity was there revealed to them; but not to all in the same manner. Some saw, others heard wonders. From thence they returned quite stupified, and out of their senses, and were placed in the chair of Mnemosyne, goddess of memory; not without great need of her assistance to recover their remembrance, after their great fatigue, of what they had seen and heard; admitting they had seen or heard any thing at all. Pausanias, who had consulted that oracle himself and gone through all these ceremonies, has left a most ample description of it; to which (*q*) Plutarch adds some particular circumstances, which I omit, to avoid a tedious prolixity.

(*r*) The temple and oracle of the Branchidæ in the neighbourhood of Miletus, so called from Branchus, the son of Apollo, was very ancient, and in great esteem with all the Ionians and Dorians of Asia. Xerxes, in his return from Greece, burnt this temple, after the priests had delivered its treasures to him. That prince, in return, granted them an establishment in the remotest parts of Asia, to secure them against the vengeance of the Greeks. After the war was over, the Milesians re-established that temple with a magnificence, which, according to Strabo, surpassed that of all the other temples of Greece. When Alexander the Great had overthrown Darius, he utterly destroyed the city, where the priests Branchidæ had settled, of which their descendants were at that time in actual possession, punishing in the children the sacrilegious perfidy of their fathers.

(*s*) Tacitus relates something very singular, though not very probable, of the oracle of Claros, a town of Ionia, in Asia Minor, near Colophon. "Germanicus (says he) went to consult Apollo at Claros. It is not a
VOL. I. D "woman,

[2] Plut. de gen. Socr. p. 590. (*r*) Herod. l. i. c. 157. Strab. l. xix. p. 634.

(*s*) Tacit. Annal. l. ii. 54.

“ woman who gives the answers there as at Delphos, but
 “ a man chosen out of certain families, and almost
 “ always of Miletus. It suffices to let him know the
 “ number and names of those who come to consult him.
 “ After which he retires into a cave, and having drunk
 “ of the waters of a spring within it, he delivers answers
 “ in verse upon what the persons have in their thoughts,
 “ though he is often ignorant and knows nothing of
 “ composing in measure. It is said, that he foretold
 “ to Germanicus his sudden death, but in dark and
 “ ambiguous terms, according to the custom of
 “ oracles.”

I omit a great number of other oracles, to proceed to the most famous of them all. It is very obvious that I mean the oracle of Apollo at Delphos. He was worshipped there under the name of the Pythian, derived from the serpent Python, which he had killed, or from a Greek word, that signifies to enquire, *πυθεσθαι* because people came thither to consult him. From thence the Delphick priestess was called Pythia, and the games there celebrated the Pythian games.

Delphos was an ancient city of Phocis in Achaia. It stood upon the declivity, and about the middle of the mountain Parnassus, built upon a small extent of even ground, and surrounded with precipices, which fortified it without the help of art. (1) Diodorus says, that there was a cavity upon Parnassus, from whence an exhalation rose, which made the goats dance and skip about, and intoxicated the brain. A shepherd having approached it, out of a desire to know the causes of so extraordinary an effect, was immediately seized with violent agitations of body, and pronounced words, which, without doubt, he did not understand himself; however, they foretold futurity. Others made the same experiment, and it was soon rumoured throughout the neighbouring countries. The cavity was no longer approached without reverence. The exhalation was concluded to have something divine in it. A priestess was appointed for the reception of its effects.

(1) Lib. xiv. p. 427, 428.

effects, and a tripod placed upon the vent, called by the Latins Cortina, perhaps from the skin (*u*) that covered it. From thence she gave her oracles. The city of Delphos rose insensibly round about this cave, where a temple was erected, which at length became very magnificent. The reputation of this oracle almost effaced, or at least very much exceeded that of all others.

At first a single Pythia sufficed to answer those who came to consult the oracle, not yet amounting to any great number: but in process of time, when it grew into universal repute, a second was appointed to mount the tripod alternately with the first, and a third chosen to succeed in case of death, or disease. There were other assistants besides these to attend the Pythia in the sanctuary, of whom the most considerable were called prophets (*x*); it was their business to take care of the sacrifices, and to make the inspection into them. To these the demands of the enquirers were delivered either by word of mouth, or in writing, and they returned the answers, as we shall see in the sequel.

We must not confound the Pythia with the Sybil of Delphos. The ancients represent the latter as a woman who roved from country to country, venting her predictions. She was at the same time the Sibyl of Delphos, Erythræ, Babylon, Cuma, and many other places, from her having resided in them all.

The Pythia could not prophesy till she was intoxicated by the exhalation from the sanctuary. This miraculous vapour had not the effect at all times and upon all occasions. The god was not always in the inspiring humour. At first he imparted himself only once a year, but at length he was prevailed upon to visit the Pythia every month. All days were not proper, and upon some it was not permitted to consult the oracle. These unfortunate days occasioned an oracle's being given to Alexander the Great worthy of remark. He was at Delphos to consult the god, at a time when the priestesses pretended it was forbid to ask him any questions, and would not enter the

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temple.

(*u*) Corium.(*x*) Προφηταιæ

temple. Alexander, who was always warm and tenacious, took hold of her by the arm to force her into it, when she cried out, *Ah, my son, you are not to be resisted!* or, *my son, you are invincible!* Upon which words he declared he would have no other oracle, and was contented with that he had received.

The Pythia, before she ascended the tripod, was a long time preparing for it by sacrifices, purifications, a fast of three days, and many other ceremonies. The god denoted his approach by the moving of a laurel, that stood before the gate of the temple, which shook also to its very foundations.

As soon * as the divine vapour, like a penetrating fire, had diffused itself through the entrails of the priestess, her hair stood upright upon her head, her looks grew wild and furious, she foamed at the mouth, a sudden and violent trembling seized her whole body, with all the † symptoms of distraction and frenzy. She uttered at intervals some words almost inarticulate, which the prophets carefully collected. After she had been a certain time upon the tripod, she was reconducted to her cell, where she generally continued many days, to recover herself of her fatigue

* Cui talia fanti

Ante fores, subito non vultus, non color unus,
Non Comtæ mansere comæ: sed pectus anhelum
Et rabie fera corda tument; majorque videri,
Nec mortale sonans, afflata est numine quando
Jam propiore dei.

Virg. *Æn.* l. vi. v. 46.—51.

† Among the various marks which God has given us in the scriptures to distinguish his oracles from those of the devil, the fury or madness, attributed by Virgil to the Pythia, & rabie fera corda tument is one. It is I, says God, that shew the falsehood of the diviners predictions, and give to such as divine, the motives of fury and madness; or, according to *Isa.* xlv. 25. That frustrateth the tokens of the liar, and maketh diviners mad. Instead of which, the prophets of the true God constantly gave the divine answers in an equal and

calm tone of voice, and with a noble tranquillity of behaviour. Another distinguished mark is, the demons giving their oracles, in secret places, by-ways, and in the obscurity of caves; whereas God gave his in open day, and before all the world. I have not spoken in secret, in a dark place of the earth, *Isa.* xlv. 19. I have not spoken in secret from the beginning, *Isa.* xlviii. 16. So that God did not permit the devil to imitate his oracles, without imposing such conditions upon him, as might distinguish between the true and false inspiration.

fatigue, and as Lucan says (y), a sudden death was often either the reward or punishment of her enthusiasm :

*Numinis aut poena est mors immatura recepti,
Aut pretium.*

The prophets had poets under them, who made the oracles into verses, which were often bad enough, and gave occasion to say, it was very surprising, that Apollo, who presided in the choir of the muses, should inspire his prophets no better. But Plutarch informs us, that the god did not compose the verses of the oracle. He inflamed the Pythia's imagination, and kindled in her soul that living light, which unveiled all futurity to her. The words she uttered in the heat of her enthusiasm, having neither method nor connection, and coming only by starts, to use that expression, (z) from the bottom of her stomach, or rather from her belly, were collected with care by the prophets, who gave them afterwards to the poets to be turned into verse. These Apollo left to their own genius and natural talents ; as we may suppose he did the Pythia, when she composed verses, which though not often, happened sometimes. The substance of the oracle was inspired by Apollo, the manner of expressing it was the priestess's own : The oracles were however often given in prose.

The general characteristicks of oracles were * ambiguity, obscurity, and convertibility (to use that expression) so that one answer would agree with several various, and sometimes directly opposite, events. By the help of this artifice, the dæmons, who of themselves are not capable

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of

(y) Lib. v.

(z) Ἐσθλασεμυθος

* Quod si aliquis dixerit multa ab idolis esse prædicta ; hoc sciendum, quod semper mendacium junxerint veritati, & sic sententiæ temperarint ut, seu boni seu mali quid accidisset,

utrumque possit intelligi. Hieronym. in cap. xlii. Isaiaë. He cites the two examples of Cræsus and Pyrrhus.

of knowing futurity, concealed their ignorance, and amused the credulity of the Pagan world. When Crœsus was upon the point of invading the Medes, he consulted the oracle of Delphos upon the success of that war, and was answered, that by passing the river Halys, he would ruin a great empire. What empire, his own, or that of his enemies? He was to guess that; but whatever the event might be, the oracle could not fail of being in the right. As much may be said upon the same god's answer to Pyrrhus,

Aio tē, Æacida, Romanos vincere posse.

I repeat it in Latin, because the equivocality, which equally implies, that Pyrrhus could conquer the Romans, and the Romans Pyrrhus, will not subsist in a translation. Under the cover of such ambiguities, the god eluded all difficulties, and was never in the wrong.

It must, however, be confessed, that sometimes the answer of the oracle was clear and circumstantial. I have repeated, in the history of Crœsus, the stratagem he made use of to assure himself of the veracity of the oracle, which was, to demand of it, by his ambassador, what he was doing at a certain time prefixed. The oracle of Delphos replied, that he was causing a tortoise and a lamb to be dressed in a vessel of brass, which was really so. (a) The emperor Trajan made a like proof upon the god at Heliopolis, by sending him a letter * sealed up, to which he demanded an answer. The oracle made no other return, than to command a blank paper, well folded and sealed, to be delivered to him. Trajan, upon the receipt of it, was struck with amazement to see an answer so correspondent with his own letter, in which he knew he had written nothing. The wonderful † facility, with
which

(a) Macrob. l. i. Saturnal. c. xxiii.

* It was customary to consult the oracle by sealed letters, which were laid upon the altar of the god unopened.

† Omnis spiritus ales. Hoc & angelia & dæmones. Igitur momento ubique sunt: totus orbis illis locus unus est: quid ubi geratur tam facile

which dæmons can transfer themselves almost in an instant from place to place, made it not impossible for them to give the two related answers, and seem to foretel in one country what they had seen in another; which is Tertullian's opinion.

Admitting it to be true, that some oracles have been followed precisely by the events foretold, we may believe, that God, to punish the blind and sacrilegious credulity of the Pagans, has sometimes permitted the dæmons to have a knowledge of things to come, and to foretel them distinctly enough. Which conduct of God, though very much above human comprehension, is frequently attested in the holy scriptures.

It has been questioned, whether the oracles, mentioned in profane history, should be ascribed to the operations of Dæmons, or only to the malignity and imposture of men. Wandale a Dutch physician, has maintained the latter; and Monsieur Fontenelle, when a young man, adopted that opinion, in the persuasion (to use his own words) that it was indifferent, as to the truth of christianity, whether the oracles were the effect of the agency of spirits or a series of impostures. Father Baltus, the Jesuit, professor of the holy scriptures in the university of Strasburgh, has refuted them both in a very solid piece, wherein he demonstrates invincibly, with the unanimous authority of the fathers, that the devils were the real agents in the oracles. He attacks, with equal force and success, the rashness and presumption of the anabaptist physician, who, calling in question the capacity and discernment of the holy doctors, absurdly endeavours to efface the high idea all true believers have of those great leaders of the church, and to depreciate their venerable authority, which is so great a difficulty to all who deviate from the principles of ancient tradition. And if that was ever certain

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sciunt, quam enuntiant. Velocitas divinitas creditur, quia substantia ignoratur.—Cæterum testudinem decoqui cum carnibus pecudis Pythius eo

modo renunciavit, quo supra diximus. Memento apud Lydiam fuerat. *Tertul. in Apolog.*

and constantaneous in any thing, it is so in this point; for all the fathers of the church, and ecclesiastical writers of all ages, maintain, and attest, that the devil was the authour of idolatry in general, and of oracles in particular.

This opinion does not oppose the belief, that the priests and priestesses were frequently guilty of fraud and imposture in the answers of the oracles. For is not the devil the father and prince of lies? In the Grecian history we have seen more than once the Delphick priestess suffer herself to be corrupted by presents. It was from that motive, she persuaded the Lacedæmonians to assist the people of Athens in the expulsion of the thirty tyrants, that she caused Demaratus to be divested of the royal dignity to make way for Cleomenes; and dressed up an oracle to support the impostor of Lysander, when he endeavoured to change the succession to the throne of Sparta. And I am apt to believe, that Themistocles, who well knew the importance of acting against the Persians by sea, inspired the god with the answer he gave, *to defend themselves with walls of wood.* (b) Demosthenes, convinced that the oracles were frequently suggested by passion or interest, and suspecting with reason, that Philip had instructed them to speak in his favour, boldly declared that the Pythia *philippized*, and bad the Athenians and Thebans remember, that Pericles and Epaminondas, instead of listening to, and amusing themselves with the frivolous answers of the oracle, those idle bugbears of the base and cowardly, consulted only reason in the choice and execution of their measures.

The same father Baltus examines with equal success the cessation of oracles, a second point in the dispute. Mr. Wandale, to oppose with some advantage a truth so glorious to Jesus Christ, the subverter of idolatry, had falsified the sense of the fathers, by making them say, *that oracles ceased precisely at the moment of Christ's birth.* The learned apologist for the fathers, shows that they all alledge oracles did not cease till after
our

(b) Plut. in Demosth. p. 834.

our Saviour's birth, and the preaching of his gospel; not on a sudden, but in proportion to his salutary doctrines being known to mankind, and gaining ground in the world. This unanimous opinion of the fathers is confirmed by the unexceptionable evidence of great numbers of the Pagans, who agree with them as to the time when the oracles ceased.

What an honour to the christian religion was this silence imposed upon the oracles by the victory of Jesus Christ? Every Christian had this power. (c) Tertullian in one of his apologies, challenges the Pagans to make the experiment, and consents that a Christian should be put to death, if he did not oblige these givers of oracles to confess themselves devils. (d) Lactantius informs, us that every Christian could silence them by only the sign of the cross. And all the world knows, then when Julian the Apostate was at Daphne, a suburb of Antioch, to consult Apollo, the god, notwithstanding all the sacrifices offered to him, continued mute, and only recovered his speech to answer those who enquired the cause of his silence, that they must ascribe it to the interment of certain bodies in the neighbourhood. Those were the bodies of Christian martyrs, amongst whom was that of St. Babylas.

This triumph of the Christian religion ought to give us a due sense of our obligations to Jesus Christ, and, at the same time, of the darkness to which all mankind were abandoned before his coming. We have seen, amongst the Carthaginians, * fathers and mothers more cruel than wild beasts, inhumanly giving up their children.

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dren.

(c) Tertull. in Apolog.

(d) Lib. de vera sapient. c. xxvii.

* Tam barbaros, tam immanes bestiarum, quæ tamen fetus suos fuisse homines, ut parricidium suum, amant, feritate superarent. O de mentiam insanabilem! Quod illis isti dii amplius facere possent si essent iratissimi quam faciunt propitii? Cum teneras atque innocentes animas, quæ maxime est ætas parentibus dulcior, sine ullo respectu pietatis extinguerunt, immanitatemque omnium sensibus spoliant. *Lactant. l. i. c. 21.*

dren, and annually depopulating their cities, by destroying the most florid of their youth, in obedience to the bloody dictates of their oracles and false gods. The victims were chosen without any regard to rank, sex, age, or condition. Such bloody executions were honoured with the name of sacrifices, and designed to make the gods propitious. "What greater evil (cries Lactantius) could they inflict in their most violent displeasure, than to deprive their adorers of all sense of humanity, to make them cut the throats of their own children, and pollute their sacrilegious hands with such execrable parricides!"

A thousand frauds and impostures, openly detected at Delphos, and every where else, had not opened men's eyes, nor in the least diminished the credit of the oracles, which subsisted upwards of two thousand years, and was carried to an inconceivable height, even in the sense of the greatest men, the most profound philosophers, the most powerful princes, and generally among the most civilized nations, and such as valued themselves most upon their wisdom and policy. The estimation they were in, may be judged from the magnificence of the temple of Delphos, and the immense riches amassed in it through the superstitious credulity of nations and monarchs.

(c) The temple of Delphos having been burnt about the fifty-eighth Olympiad, the Amphyctions, those celebrated judges of Greece, took upon themselves the care of rebuilding it. They agreed with an architect for three hundred talents, which amounts to nine hundred thousand livres. The cities of Greece were to furnish that sum. The inhabitants of Delphos were taxed a fourth part of it, and made gatherings in all parts, even in foreign nations, for that purpose. Amasis, at that time king of Egypt, and the Grecian inhabitants of his country, contributed considerable sums towards it. The Alcmeonides, a potent family of Athens, was charged with the conduct of the building, and made it more magnificent by considerable additions

additions of their own, than had been proposed in the model.

Gyges, king of Lydia, and Croesus, one of his successors, enriched the temple of Delphos with an incredible number of presents. Many other princes, cities, and private persons, by their example, in a kind of emulation of each other, had heaped up in it tripods, vessels, tables, shields, crowns, chariots, and statues of gold and silver of all sizes, equally infinite in number and value. The presents of gold, which Croesus only made to this temple, amounted, according to Herodotus (*f*), to upwards of 254 talents; that is, about 762,000 French livres*; and perhaps those of silver to as much. Most of these presents were in being in the time of Herodotus. (*g*) Diodorus Siculus, adding those of other princes to them, makes their amount ten thousand talents, or thirty millions of livres†.

(*b*) Amongst the statues of gold, consecrated by Croesus in the temple of Delphos, was placed that of a female baker, of which this was the occasion. Alyattus, Croesus's father, having married a second wife, by whom he had children, she contrived to get rid of her son-in-law that the crown might descend to her own issue. For this purpose she engaged the female baker to put poison into a loaf, that was to be served at the young prince's table. The woman, who was struck with horror at the crime (in which she ought to have had no part at all) gave Croesus notice of it. The poisoned loaf was served to the queen's own children, and their death secured the crown to the lawful successor. When he ascended the throne, in gratitude to his benefactress, he erected a statue to her in the temple of Delphos. But may we conclude that a person of so mean a condition could deserve so great an honour? Plutarch answers in the affirmative, and with a much better title, he says, than many of the so-much-vaunted conquerors and heroes, who have acquired their fame only by murder and devastation.

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(*f*) Herod. l. i. c. 50, 51.(*g*) Diod. l. xvi. p. 453.(*b*) Plut. de Pyth. orac. p. 401.* About 33,500*l.* sterling.† About 1,300,000*l.*

It is not to be wondered, that such immense riches should tempt the avarice of mankind, and expose Delphos to being frequently pillaged. Without mentioning more ancient times, Xerxes, who invaded Greece with a million of men, endeavoured to seize upon the spoils of this temple. Above an hundred years after, the Phoceans near neighbours of Delphos, plundered it at several times. The same rich booty was the sole motive of the irruption of the Gauls into Greece under Brennus. The guardian god of Delphos, if we may believe historians, sometimes defended this temple by surprising prodigies; and at others, either from incapacity or confusion, suffered himself to be plundered. When Nero made this temple, so famous throughout the universe, a visit, and found in it five hundred brass statues of illustrious men and gods to his liking, which had been consecrated to Apollo (more of gold and silver having undoubtedly disappeared upon his approach) he ordered them to be taken down, and shipping them on board his vessels, carried them with him to Rome.

Those who would be more particularly informed concerning the oracles and riches of the temple of Delphos, may consult some dissertations upon them, printed in the *Memoirs of the academy of Belles Lettres* (i); of which I have made good use, according to my custom.

Of the Games and Combats.

GAMES and combats made a part of the religion, and had a share in almost all the festivals of the ancients; and for that reason it is proper to treat of them in this place. Whether we consider their origin, or the design of their institution, we shall be surprised at their being so much practised in the best governed states.

Hercules, Theseus, Castor and Pollux, and the greatest heroes of antiquity were not only the institutors or restorers of them, but thought it glorious to share in the exercise of them, and meritorious to succeed therein.

The

The subduers of monsters, and of the common enemies of mankind, thought it no disgrace to them, to aspire at the victories in these combats; nor that the new wreaths, with which their brows were encircled in the solemnization of these games, took any lustre from those they had before acquired. Hence the most famous poets made these combats the subject of their verses; the beauty of whose poetry, whilst it immortalized themselves, seemed to promise an eternity of fame to those whose victories it so divinely celebrated. Hence arose that uncommon ardour, which animated all Greece to imitate the ancient heroes, and, like them, to signalize themselves in the publick combats.

A reason more solid, which results from the nature of these combats, and of the people who used them, may be given for their prevalence. The Greeks, by nature warlike, and equally intent upon forming the bodies and minds of their youth, introduced these exercises, and annexed honours to them, in order to prepare the younger sort for the profession of arms, to confirm their health, to render them stronger and more robust, to inure them to fatigues, and to make them intrepid in close-fight, in which, the use of fire arms being then unknown, the strength of body generally decided the victory. These athletick exercises supplied the place of those in use amongst our nobility, as dancing, fencing, riding the great horse, &c. but they did not confine themselves to a graceful mien, nor to the beauties of a shape and face; they were for joining strength to the charms of person.

It is true, these exercises, so illustrious by their founders, and so useful in the ends at first proposed from them, introduced publick masters, who taught them to young persons, and practising them with success, made publick show and ostentation of their skill. This sort of men applied themselves solely to the practice of this art, and carrying it to an excess, they formed it into a kind of science, by the addition of rules and refinements; often challenging each other out of a vain emulation, till at length they degenerated into a profession of people, who,
without

without any other employment, or merit, exhibited themselves as a sight for the diversion of the publick. Our dancing-masters are not unlike them in this respect, whose natural and original designation was to teach youth a graceful manner of walking, and a good address; but but now we see them mount the stage, and perform ballets in the garb of comedians, capering, jumping, skipping, and making variety of strange unnatural motions. We shall see, in the sequel, what opinion the ancients had of their professed combatants and wrestling-masters.

There were four kinds of games solemnized in Greece. The *Olympick*, so called from Olympia, otherwise Pisa, a town of Elis in Peloponnesus, near which they were celebrated after the expiration of every four years, in honour of Jupiter Olympicus. The *Pythick*, sacred to Apollo * Pythius, so called from the serpent Python, killed by him; they were also celebrated every four years. The *Næmean*, which took their name from Nemæa, a city and forest of Peloponnesus, and were either instituted or restored by Hercules, after he had slain the lion of the Nemæan forest. They were solemnized every two years. And lastly the *Isthmian*, celebrated upon the isthmus of Corinth, from four years to four years, in honour of Neptune. (k) Theseus was the restorer of them, and they continued even after the ruin of Corinth. That persons might be present at these publick sports with greater quiet and security, there was a general suspension of arms, and cessation of hostilities throughout all Greece, during the time of their celebration.

In these games, which were solemnized with incredible magnificence, and drew together a prodigious concourse of spectators from all parts, a simple wreath was all the reward of the victors. In the Olympick games it was composed of wild olive. In the Pythick, of laurel. In the Nemæan of green parsley (l); and in the Isthmian of the same herb. The institutors of these games implied from thence, that only honour, and not mean and sordid

interest,

(k) Pauf. l. ii. p. 88.

(l) Apium.

* Several reasons are given for this name.

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interest, ought to be the motive of great actions. Of what were men not capable, accustomed to act solely from so glorious a principle! (m) We have seen in the Persian war, that Tigranes, one of the most considerable captains in the army of Xerxes, having heard the prizes in the Grecian games described, cried out with astonishment, addressing himself to Mardonius, who commanded in chief, **Heavens! against what men are you leading us? Insensible to interest, they combat only for glory?* Which exclamation, though looked upon by Xerxes as an effect of abject fear, abounds with sense and judgement.

(n) It was from the same principle the Romans, whilst they bestowed upon other occasions crowns of gold of great value, persisted always in giving only a wreath of oaken leaves to him who saved the life of a citizen. "Oh manners, worthy of eternal remembrance!" cries Pliny, in relating this laudable custom. "O grandeur, truly Roman, that would assign no other reward but honour, for the preservation of a citizen! a service, indeed, above all reward; thereby sufficiently arguing it their opinion, that it was criminal to save a man's life from the motive of lucre and interest!" *O mores æternos, qui tanta opera honore solo donaverint; & cum reliquas coronas auro commendarent, salutem civis in pretio esse noluerint, clara professione servari quidem hominem nefas esse lucri causa!*

Amongst all the Grecian games, the Olympick held undeniably the first rank, and that for three reasons. They were sacred to Jupiter the greatest of the gods; instituted by Hercules, the first of the heroes; and celebrated with more pomp and magnificence, amidst a greater concourse of spectators from all parts, than any of the rest.

(o) If Pausanias may be believed, women were prohibited to be present at them upon pain of death; and during

(m) Herod. l. viii. c. 88. (n) Plin. l. xvi. c. 4. (o) Pausan. l. v. p. 279.

* Παπαὶ Μαδόνιε, πόινους ἐπ' ἄνδρας ἡσάτες μαχησομένους ἡμᾶς, οἱ ὡς περὶ χρεῖματ' αὐτὸν τὸν ἀγῶνα ποιοῦνται, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἀξέτης.

during their continuance, it was ordained, that no woman should approach the place where the games were celebrated, or pass on that side of the river Alpheus. One only was so bold as to violate this law, and slipped in disguise amongst the combatants. She was tried for the offence, and would have suffered for it, according to the law, if the judges, in regard to her father, her brother, and her son, who had all been victors in the Olympick games, had not pardoned her offence, and saved her life.

This law was very conformable with the Grecian manners, amongst whom the ladies were very reserved, seldom appeared in publick, had separate apartments, called *Gynæcea*, and never eat at table with the men when strangers were present. It was certainly inconsistent with decency to admit them at some of the games, as those of wrestling, and the Pancratium, in which the combatants fought naked.

(p) The same Pausanias tells us in another place, that the priestesses of Ceres had an honourable seat in these games, and that virgins were not denied the liberty of being present at them. For my part, I cannot conceive the reason of such inconsistency, which indeed seems incredible.

The Greeks thought nothing comparable to the victory in these games. They looked upon it as the perfection of glory, and did not believe it permitted to mortals to desire any thing beyond it. * Cicero assures us, that with them it was no less honourable than the consular dignity in its original splendour with the ancient Romans. And in another place he says, that † to conquer at Olympia, was almost, in the sense of the Grecians, more great and glorious, than to receive the honour of a triumph at Rome. Horace speaks in still stronger terms upon

(p) Pausan, l. vi. p. 382.

* Olympiorum victoria, Græcis consularis ille antiquus videbatur. *Tuscul. Quest. lib. ii. n. 41.*

† Olympionicam esse apud Græ-

cos prope majus fuit & gloriosius quam Romæ triumphasse. *Pro Flacco, num. xxxi.*

upon this kind of victory. * He is not afraid to say, that *it exalts the victory above human nature ; they were no longer men but gods.*

We shall see hereafter what extraordinary honours were paid to the victor, of which one of the most affecting was, to date the year with his name. Nothing could more effectually enliven their endeavours, and make them regardless of expences, than the assurance of immortalizing their names, which, for the future, would be annexed to the calendar, and in the front of all laws made in the same year with the victory. To this motive may be added, the joy of knowing, that their praises would be celebrated by the most famous poets, and share in the entertainment of the most illustrious assemblies ; for these odes were sung in every house, and had a part in every entertainment. What could be a more powerful incentive to a people, who had no other object and aim than that of human glory ?

I shall confine myself upon this head to the Olympick games, which continued five days ; and shall describe, in as brief a manner as possible, the several kinds of combats of which they were composed. Mr. Burette has treated this subject in several dissertations, printed in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres* ; wherein purity, perspicuity, and elegance of stile are united with profound erudition. I make no scruple in appropriating to my use the riches of my brethren ; and, upon this subject of the Olympick games, have made very free with the late Abbe Massieu's remarks upon the Odes of Pindar.

The combats, which had the greatest share in the solemnity of the publick games, were boxing, wrestling, the pancratium, the discus or quoit, and racing. To these may be added the exercises of leaping, throwing the dart, and that of the trochus or wheel ; but as these were neither important, nor of any great reputation, I shall
content

* ——— Palmaque nobilis
Terrarum dominos evehit ad deos.
Sive ques Elea domum reducit
Palma cœlestes.

Od. i. lib. 1.

Od. ii. lib. 4.

content myself with having only mentioned them in this place. For the better methodizing the particulars of these games and exercises, it will be necessary to begin with an account of the Athletæ, or combatants.

Of the Athletæ or Combatants.

The term Athletæ is derived from the Greek word ἀθλῶν, which signifies labour, combat. This name was given to those who exercised themselves with design to dispute the prizes in the publick games. The art by which they formed themselves for these encounters, was called Gymnastick, from the Athletæ practising naked.

Those who were designed for this profession frequented, from their most tender age, the Gymnasia or Palæstræ, which were a kind of academies maintained for that purpose at the publick expence. In these places, such young people were under the direction of different masters, who employed the most effectual methods to inure their bodies for the fatigues of the publick games, and to form them for the combats. The regimen they were under was very hard and severe. At first they had no other nourishment but dried figs, nuts, soft cheese, and a gross heavy sort of bread, called μάζα. They were absolutely forbid the use of wine, and enjoined continence; which Horace expresses thus, (q)

Qui studet optatam cursu contigere metam
Multa tulit fecitque puer, sudavit & alsit,
Abstinit venere & vino.

*Who in th' Olympick race, the prize would gain,
Has borne from early youth fatigue and pain,
Excess of heat and cold has often try'd.
Love's softness banish'd, and the glass deny'd.*

St. Paul, by an allusion to the Athletæ, exhorts the Corinthians, near whose city the Isthmian games were celebrated,

(q) Art. Poet. v. 412.

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brated, to a sober and penitent life. *Those who strive,* says he, *for the mastery, are temperate in all things: now they do it to obtain a corruptible crown, but we an incorruptible.* Tertullian uses the same thought to encourage the martyrs. *He makes a comparison from what the hopes of victory made the Athletæ endure. He repeats the severe and painful exercises they were obliged to undergo; the continual anguish and constraint, in which they passed the best years of their lives; and the voluntary privation which they imposed upon themselves, of all that was most affecting and grateful to their passions. It is true, the Athletæ did not always observe so severe a regimen, but at length substituted in its stead a voracity and indolence extremely remote from it.

The Athletæ, before their exercises, were rubbed with oils and ointments to make their bodies more supple and vigorous. At first they made use of a belt, with an apron or scarf fastened to it, for their more decent appearance in the combats; but one of the combatants happening to lose the victory by this covering's falling off, that accident was the occasion of sacrificing modesty to convenience, and retrenching the apron for the future. The Athletæ were only naked in some exercises, as wrestling, boxing, the pancratium, and the foot-race. They practised a kind of noviciate in the Gymnasia for ten months, to accomplish themselves in the several exercises by assiduous application; and this they did in the presence of such, as curiosity or idleness conducted to look on. But when the celebration of the Olympick games drew nigh, the Athletæ who were to appear in them, were kept to double exercise.

Before they were admitted to combat, other proofs were required; as to birth, none but Greeks were to be received. It was also necessary, that their manners should be unexceptionable, and their condition free. No stranger was admitted to combat in the Olympick games; and when
Alexander,

* Nempe enim & Athletæ segre-
antur ad strictiorem disciplinam, ut
obori ædificando vacent; continen-
tur a luxuria, a cibis lætioribus, a
potu jucundiore; coguntur, crucian-
tur, fatigantur. *Tertul. ad Martyr.*

Alexander, the son of Amyntas king of Macedon, presented himself to dispute the prize, his competitors, without any regard to the royal dignity, opposed his reception as a Macedonian, and consequently a Barbarian and a stranger; nor could the judges be prevailed upon to admit him, till he had proved in due form his family originally descended from the Argives.

The persons who presided in the games, called *Agonothetæ*, *Athlothetæ*, and *Hellanodicæ*, registered the name and country of each champion; and upon the opening of the games an herald proclaimed the names of the combatants. They were then made to take an oath, that they would religiously observe the several laws prescribed in each kind of combat, and to do nothing contrary to the established orders, and regulations of the games. Fraud, artifice, and excessive violence, were absolutely prohibited; and the maxim so generally received elsewhere, that it is indifferent whether an enemy is conquered by deceit or valour, was banished from these combats. The address of a combatant, expert in all the turns of his art, who knew how to shift and fencedexterously, to put the change upon his adversary with art and subtlety, and to improve the least advantages, must not be confounded here with the cowardly and knavish cunning of one, who, without regard to the laws prescribed, employs the most unfair means to vanquish his competitor. Those who dispute the prize in the several kinds of combats, drew lots for their precedency in them.

It is time to bring our champions to blows, and to run over the different kinds of combats, in which they exercised themselves.

Of Wrestling.

WRESTLING is one of the most ancient exercises of which we have any knowledge, having been practised in the time of the patriarchs, as the wrestling of the angel with Jacob proves (r). Jacob supported the angel's attack

(r) Gen. xxxii. 24.

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so vigorously, that, perceiving he could not throw so rough a wrestler, he was reduced to make him lame by touching the sinew of his thigh, which immediately shrunk up.

Wrestling among the Greeks, as well as other nations, was practised at first with simplicity, little art, and in a natural manner; the weight of the body, and the strength of the muscles, having more share of it, than address and skill. Theseus was the first that reduced it to method, and refined it with the rules of art. He was also the first who established the publick schools, called *Palæstra*, where the young people had masters to instruct them in it.

The wrestlers, before they began their combats, were rubbed all over in a rough manner, and afterwards anointed with oils, which added to the strength and flexibility of their limbs. But as this unction, in making the skin too slippery, rendered it difficult for them to take good hold of each other, they remedied that inconvenience, sometimes by rolling themselves in the dust of the *Palæstræ*, sometimes by throwing a fine sand upon each other, kept for that purpose in the *Xystæ*, or porticoes of the *Gymnasia*.

Thus prepared, the wrestlers began their combat. They were matched two against two, and sometimes several couples contended at the same time. In this combat, the whole aim and design of the wrestlers was to throw their adversary upon the ground. Both strength and art were employed to this purpose: they seized each other by the arms, drew forwards, pushed backwards, used many distortions and twistings of the body; locking their limbs into each other's, seizing by the neck, throttling, pressing in their arms, struggling, plying on all sides, lifting from the ground, dashing their heads together like rams, and twisting one another's necks. The most considerable advantage in the wrestler's art, was to make himself master of his adversary's legs, of which a fall was the immediate consequence. From whence Plautus says in his *Pseudolus*, speaking of wine, * *He is a dangerous wrestler, he*
presently

* *Captat pedes primum, luctator dolosus est.*

presently takes one by the heels. The Greek terms ὑποσκελίζειν, and ἀνερπνίζειν, and the latin word *supplantare*, seemed to imply, that one of these arts consisted in stooping down to seize the antagonist under the soles of his feet, and in raising them up to give a fall.

In this manner the Athletæ wrestled standing, the combat ending with the fall of one of the competitors. But when it happened that the wrestler, who was down, drew his adversary along with him, either by art or accident, the combat continued upon the sand, the antagonists tumbling and twining with each other in a thousand different ways, till one of them got uppermost, and compelled the other to ask quarter, and confessed himself vanquished. There was a third sort of wrestling, called *Ἀκροχειρισμός*, from the Athletæ using only their hands in it, without taking hold of the body as in the other kinds; and this exercise served as a prelude to the greater combat. It consisted in intermingling their fingers, and in squeezing them with all their force; in pushing one another, by joining the palms of their hands together; in twisting their fingers, wrists, and other joints of the arm, without the assistance of any other member; and the victory was his, who obliged his opponent to ask quarter.

The combatants were to fight three times successively, and to throw their antagonists at least twice, before the prize could be adjudged to them.

(s) Homer describes the wrestling of Ajax and Ulysses; Ovid, that of Hercules and Achelous; Lucan, of Hercules and Antæus; and the Thebaid of Statius, of Tydeus and Agylleus.

The wrestlers of greatest reputation amongst the Greeks, were Milo of Croton, whose history I have related elsewhere at large, and Polydamas. The latter, alone and without arms, killed a furious lion upon mount Olympos, in imitation of Hercules, whom he proposed to himself as a model in this action. Another time having seized a bull by one of his hinder legs, the beast could not get loose without

(s) Iliad. l. xxiii. v. 708, &c. Ovid. Metam. l. ix. v. 31, &c. Phars. l. iv. v. 612. Stat. l. v. vi. 147.

without leaving his hoof in his hands. He could hold a chariot behind, while the coachman whipped his horses in vain to make them go forward. Darius Nothus, king of Persia, hearing of his prodigious strength, was desirous of seeing him, and invited him to Susa. Three soldiers of that Prince's guard, and of that band which the Persians called *immortal*, esteemed the most warlike of their troops, were ordered to fall upon him. Our champion fought and killed them all three.

Of Boxing, or the Cestus.

BOXING is a combat at handy blows, from whence it derives its name. The combatants covered their fists with a kind of offensive arms, called *Cestus*, and their heads with a sort of leather cap, to defend their temples and ears, which were most exposed to blows, and to deaden their violence. The *Cestus* was a kind of gauntlet, or glove, made of straps of leather, and plated with brass, lead, or iron, with inside. Their use was to strengthen the hands of the combatants, and to add violence to their blows.

Sometimes the *Athletæ* came immediately to the most violent blows, and began with charging in the most furious manner. Sometimes whole hours passed in harrassing and fatiguing each other, by a continual extension of their arms, rendering each other's blows ineffectual, and endeavouring in that manner of defence to keep off their adversary. But when they fought with the utmost fury, they aimed chiefly at the head and face, which parts they were most careful to defend, by either avoiding or catching the blows made at them. When a combatant came to throw himself with all his force and vigour upon another, they had a surprizing address in avoiding the attack, by a nimble turn of the body, which threw the impudent adversary down, and deprived him of the victory.

However fierce the combatants were against each other, their being exhausted by the length of the combat, would frequently reduce them to the necessity of making a truce: upon which the battle was suspended for some minutes,

that

that were employed in recovering their fatigue, and rubbing off the sweat in which they were bathed: After which they renewed the fight, till one of them, by letting fall his arms through weakness, or by swooning away, explained that he could no longer support the pain or fatigue, and desired quarter; which was confessing himself vanquished.

Boxing was one of the rudest and most dangerous of the gymnastick combats; because, besides the danger of being crippled, the combatants ran the hazard of their lives. They sometimes fell down dead, or dying, upon the sand; though that seldom happened, except the vanquished person persisted too long in not acknowledging his defeat: Yet it was common for them to quit the fight with a countenance so disfigured, that it was not easy to know them afterwards; carrying away with them the sad marks of their vigorous resistance, such as bruises and contusions in the face, the loss of an eye, their teeth knocked out, their jaws broken, or some more considerable fracture.

We find in the poets, both Latin and Greek, several descriptions of this kind of combat. In Homer, that of Epeus and Euryalus; (t) in Theocritus, of Pollux and Amycus; in Virgil, that of Dares and Entellus; and in Statius, and Valerius Flaccus, of several other combatants.

Of the Pancratium.

THE Pancratium (u) was so called from two Greek words, which signify that the whole force of the body was necessary for succeeding in it. It united boxing and wrestling in the same fight, borrowing from one its manner of struggling and flinging, and from the other, the art of dealing blows, and of avoiding them with success. In wrestling it was not permitted to strike with the hand, nor in boxing to seize each other in the manner of wrestlers: But in the Pancratium, it was not only allowed to

(t) Dict. or. Idyl. xxii. Argonautic. lib. ii. Æneid. l. i. Thebaid. l. vi. Argonaut. l. iv. (u) Παν κρατ.

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make use of all the gripes and artifices of wrestling, but the hands and feet, and even the teeth and nails, might be employed to conquer an antagonist.

This combat was the most rude and dangerous. A Pancratiast in the Olympick games (called Arrichion, or Arrachion) perceiving himself almost suffocated by his adversary, who had got fast hold of him by the thtoat, at the same time that he held him by the foot, broke one of his enemy's toes, the extreme anguish of which obliged him to ask quarter at the very instant Arrichion himself expired. The Agonothetæ crowned Arrichion, though dead, and proclaimed him victor. Philostratus has left us a very lively description of a painting, which represented this combat.

Of the Discus, or Quoit.

THE Discus was a kind of quoit of a round form, made sometimes of wood, but more frequently of stone, lead, or other metal; as iron, or brass. Those who used this exercise were called Discoboli, that is, flingers of the Discus. The epithet *κατωμαδιος* which signifies *borne upon the shoulders*, given this instrument by Homer, sufficiently shews, that it was of too great a weight to be carried from place to place in the hands only, and that the shoulders were necessary for the support of such a burthen any space of time.

The intent of this exercise, as of almost all the others, was to invigorate the body, and to make it more capable of supporting the weight and use of arms. In war they were often obliged to carry such loads, as appear excessive in these days, either of provisions, fascines, pallisades; or in scaling of walls, when, to equal the height of them, several of the besiegers mounted upon the shoulders of each other.

The Athletæ, in hurling the Discus, put themselves into the best posture they could, to add force to their cast. They advanced one foot, upon which leaning the whole weight of their bodies they poised the Discus in their
E hands,

hands, and then whirling it round several times almost horizontally, to add force to its motion, they threw it off with the joint strength of hands, arms, and body, which had all a share in the vigour of the discharge. He that flung the Discus farthest was the victor.

The most famous painters and sculptors of antiquity, in their endeavours to represent naturally the attitudes of the Discoboli, have left posterity many master-pieces in their several arts. Quintilian exceedingly extols a statue of that kind, which had been finished with infinite care and application by the celebrated Myron : ** What can be more finished, or express more happily the muscular distortions of the body in the exercise of the Discus, than the Discobolus of Myron ?*

Of the Pentathlum.

THE Greeks gave this name to an exercise composed of five others. It was the common opinion, that those five exercises were wrestling, running, leaping, throwing the dart, and the discus. It was believed that this sort of combat was decided in one day, and sometimes the same morning; and that the prize, which was single, could not be given but to the victor in all those exercises.

The exercise of leaping, and throwing the javelin, of which the first consisted in leaping a certain length, and the other in hitting a mark with a javelin at a certain distance, contributed to the forming of a soldier, by making him nimble and active in battle, and expert in flinging the spear and dart.

Of Races.

OF all the exercises which the Athletæ cultivated with so much pains and industry for their appearance in the public games, running was in the highest estimation, and held the foremost rank. The Olympick games generally opened with races, and were solemnized at first with no other exercise.

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* Quid tam distortum et elaboratum, quam est ille Discobolus Myronis. Quintil. lib. ii. cap. 13.

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The place where the Athletæ exercised themselves in running, was generally called the *Stadium* by the Greeks; as was that wherein they disputed in earnest for the prize. As the lists or course for these games was at first but one * *Stadium* in length, it took its name from its measure, and was called the *Stadium*, whether precisely of that extent, or of a much greater. Under the denomination was included not only the space, in which the Athletæ ran, but also that which contained the spectators of the gymnastick games. The place where the Athletæ contended, was called *Scamma*, from its lying lower than the rest of the *Stadium*, on each side of which, and its extremity, ran an ascent or kind of terrace, covered with seats and benches, upon which the spectators were seated. The most remarkable parts of the *Stadium* were its entrance, middle, and extremity.

The entrance of the course was marked at first only by a line drawn on the sand, from side to side of the *Stadium*. To that at length was substituted a kind of barrier, which was only a cord strained tight in the front of the horses or men that were to run. It was sometimes a rail of wood. The opening of this barrier was the signal for the racers to start.

The middle of the *Stadium* was remarkable only by the circumstance of having the prizes allotted to the victors set up there. St. Chrysostom draws a fine comparison from this custom. *As the judges, says he, in the races and other games, expose in the midst of the Stadium, to the view of the champions, the crowns which they are to receive; in like manner the Lord, by the mouth of his prophets, has placed the prizes in the midst of the course, which he designs for those who have the courage to contend for them.*

At the extremity of the *Stadium* was a goal where the foot races ended, but in those of chariots and horses they

E 2

were

* The *Stadium* was a land-measure amongst the Greeks, and was, according to Herodotus. l. ii. c. 149. six hundred feet in extent. Pliny says, lib. ii. c. 23. that it was six hundred and twenty-five. Those two authors may agree, considering the difference between the Greek and Roman foot; besides which, the measure of the *Stadium* varies, according to the difference of times and places.

were to run several times round it, without stopping, and afterwards conclude the race by regaining the other extremity of the lists, from whence they started.

There were three kinds of races, the chariot, the horse, and the foot-race. I shall begin with the last, as the most simple, natural and ancient.

I. *Of the Foot-race.*

THE runners, of whatever number they were, ranged themselves in a line, after having drawn lots for their places. * Whilst they waited the signal to start, they practised, by way of prelude, various motions to awaken their activity, and to keep their limbs pliable and in a right temper. They kept themselves breathing by small leaps, and making little excursions, which were a kind of trial of their speed and agility. Upon the signal's being given, they flew towards the goal, with a rapidity scarce to be followed by the eyes which was solely to decide the victory: For the Agonistick laws prohibited, upon the most infamous penalties, the attaining it by any foul method.

In the simple race, the extent of the Stadium was run but once, at the end of which the prize attended the victor, that is, he who came in first. In the race called *Δίαυλον* the competitors ran twice that length, that is, after having arrived at the goal, they returned to the barrier. To these may be added a third sort, called *Δολυχον*, which was the longest of all, as its name implies, and

was

* Tunc rite citatos

Explorant, acunque gradus, variasque per artes

Instimulant docto languentia membra tumultu.

Poplite nunc flexo fidunt, nunc lubrica forti

Pectora collidunt plausu; nunc ignea tollunt

Crura, brevemque fugam nec opino fine reponunt.

Strat. Theb. lib. vi. v. 387, &c.

*They try, they rouse their speed, with various arts;
Their languid limbs they prompt to act their parts.
Now with bent bams, amidst the practis'd croud,
They sit; now strain their lungs, and shout aloud:
Now a short flight with fiery steps they trace,
And with a sudden stop abridge the mimick race.*

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(x) Plin.
(a) Herod.
(d) Val. M

was composed of several Diauli. Sometimes it consisted of twenty-four Stadia backwards and forwards, turning twelve times round the goal.

There were runners in ancient times, as well amongst the Greeks as Romans, who were much celebrated for their swiftness. (x) Pliny tells us, that it was thought prodigious in Phidippides to run eleven hundred and forty Stadia (y) between Athens and Lacedæmon in the space of two days, till Anystis of the latter place, and Philonides, the runner of Alexander the Great, made twelve hundred Stadia (z) in one day, from Sicione to Elis. These runners were denominated *ἡμεροδρόμοις*, as we find in that passage of Herodotus (a), which mentions Phidippides. In the consulate of Fonteius and Vipfanus, in the reign of Nero, a boy of nine years old ran seventy-five thousand paces (b) between noon and night. Pliny adds, that in his time there were runners, who ran one hundred and sixty thousand paces (c) in the Circus. Our wonder at such a prodigious speed will increase (continues he) (d) if we reflect, that when Tiberius went to Germany to his brother Drusus, then at the point of death, he could not arrive there in less than four-and-twenty hours, though the distance was but two hundred thousand paces (e) and he ran with three post-chaifes * with the utmost diligence.

2. Of the Horse-races.

THE race of a single horse with a rider was less celebrated by the ancients, yet it had its favourers amongst the most considerable persons, and even kings themselves, and was attended with uncommon glory to the victor. Pindar in his first ode, celebrates a victory of this kind, obtained by Hiero, king of Syracuse, to whom he gives the title of *Κέλης*, that is, *Victor in the horse-race*; which name was given to the horses carrying only a single rider, *Κέλῃες*.

E 3

Sometimes

(x) Plin. l. vii. c. 20.

(y) 57 leagues.

(z) 60 leagues.

(a) Herod. l. vi. c. 106.

(b) 30 leagues.

(c) More than 53 leagues.

(d) Val. Max. l. v. c. 5.

(e) 67 leagues.

* He had only a guide and one officer with him.

Sometimes the rider led another horse by the bridle, and then the horses were called *Desultores*, and their riders *Desultores*; because, after a number of turns in the Stadium, they changed horses, by dexterously vaulting from one to the other. A surprizing address was necessary upon this occasion, especially in an age unacquainted with the use of stirrups, and when the horses had no saddles, which still made the leap more difficult. In the armies there were also cavalry* called *Desultores*, who vaulted from one horse to another, as occasion required, and were generally Numidians.

3. Of the Chariot-races.

THIS kind of race was the most renowned of all the exercises used in the games of the ancients, and that from whence most honour redounded to the victors; which is not to be wondered at, if we consider their origin. It is plain, they were derived from the constant custom of princes, heroes, and great men, of fighting in battle upon chariots. Homer has an infinity of examples of this kind. This being admitted as a custom, it is natural to suppose it very agreeable to these heroes, to have their charioteers as expert as possible in driving, as their success depended, in a very great measure, upon the address of their drivers. It was anciently, therefore, only to persons of the first consideration, that this office was confided. Hence arose a laudable emulation to excel others in the art of guiding a chariot, and a kind of necessity to practise it very much, for the attainment of it. The high rank of the persons who made use of chariots ennobled, as it always happens, an exercise peculiar to them. The other exercises were adapted to private soldiers and horsemen, as wrestling, running, and the single horse-race; but the use of chariots in the field was always reserved to princes and generals of armies.

Hence

* Nec omnes Numidæ in dextro locati cornu, sed quibus desultorum in modum binos trahentibus equos, inter acerrimam sæpe pugnam, in

recentem equum ex fesso armatis transultare mos erat: tanta velocitas ipsis, tamque docile equorum genus est. *Liv. lib. xxiii.*

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Hence it was, that all those who presented themselves in the Olympick games to dispute the prize in the chariot races, were persons considerable either for their riches, their birth, their employments, or great actions. Kings themselves aspired passionately to this glory, from the belief that the title of victor, in these games, was scarce inferior to that of conqueror, and that the Olympick palm added new dignity to the splendours of a throne. Pindar's odes informs us, that Gelon and Hiero, kings of Syracuse, were of that opinion. Dionysius, who reigned there long after them, carried the same ambition much higher. Philip of Macedon had these victories stamped upon his coins, and seemed as much affected with them, as with those obtained against the enemies of his state. (e) All the world knows the answer of Alexander the great on this subject. When his friends asked him, whether he would dispute the prize of the races in these games? *Yes*, says he, *if kings were to be my antagonists*. Which shews, that he would not have disdained these exercises, if there had been competitors in them worthy of him.

The chariots were generally drawn by two or four horses, placed in a row; *bigæ quadrigæ*. Sometimes mules supplied the place of horses, and then the chariot was called *ἄπῆνη*. Pindar, in the fifth of his first book, celebrates one Psaumis, who had obtained a triple victory; one by a chariot drawn by four horses, *τετρίπῳ*; another by one drawn by mules, *ἄπῆνη*; and the third by a single horse, *κέληε* which the title of the ode expresses.

These chariots, upon a signal given, started together from a place called *Carceres*. Their places were regulated by lot, which was not an indifferent circumstance as to the victory; for being to turn round a boundary, the chariot on the left was nearer than those on the right, which in consequence had a greater compass to take. It appears from several passages in Pindar, and especially from one in Sophocles, which I shall cite very soon, that they ran twelve times round the Stadium. He that came in first the twelfth round was victor. The Chief art consisted in

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taking

(e) Plut. in Alex. p. 666.

taking the best ground at the turning of the boundary : for if the charioteer drove too near it, he was in danger of dashing the chariot to pieces ; and if he kept too wide of it, his nearest antagonist might cut the way upon him, and get foremost.

It is obvious that these chariot-races could not be run without some danger ; for as the * motion of the wheels was very rapid, and grazed against the boundary in turning, the least error in driving would have broke the chariot in pieces and might have dangerously wounded the charioteer. An example of which we find in the *Electra* of Sophocles, who gives an admirable description of this kind of race run by ten competitors. The false Orestes, at the twelfth and last round, having only one antagonist, the rest having been thrown out, was so unfortunate as to break one of his wheels against the boundary, and falling out of his seat entangled in the reins, the horses dragged him violently forwards along with them, and tore him to pieces ; but this very seldom happened. (f) To avoid such danger, Nestor gave the following directions to his son Antilochus, who was going to dispute the prize in the chariot-races. " My son (says he) drive your horses as near as possible to the turning ; for which reason, always inclining your body over your chariot, get the left of your competitors, and encouraging the horse on the right, give him the rein, whilst the near horse, hard held, turns the boundary so close to it, that the nave of the wheel seems to graze upon it ; but have a care of running against the stone, lest, you wound your horses, and dash the chariot in pieces."

Father Montfaucon mentions a difficulty, in his opinion, very considerable, in regard to the places of those who contended for the prize in the chariot-race. They all started indeed from the same line, and at the same time, and so far had no advantage of each other ; but he, whose lot gave him the first place, being nearest the boundary at the

(f) Hom. Il. l. xxii. v. 334, &c.

* *Metaque fervidis Evitata rotis. Horat. Od. i.*
The goal shunn'd by the burning wheels.

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the end of the career, and having but a small compass to describe in turning about it had less way to make than the second, third, fourth, &c. especially when the chariots were drawn by four horses, which took up a greater space between the first and the others, and obliged them to make a larger circle in coming round. This advantage twelve times together, as it must happen, admitting the Stadium was to be run round twelve times, gave such a superiority to the first, as seemed to assure him infallibly of the victory against all his competitors. To me it seems that the fleetness of the horses, joined with the address of the driver, might countervail this odds; either by getting before the first, or by taking his place; if not in the first, in some of the subsequent rounds; for it is not to be supposed, that in the progress of the race, the antagonists always continued in the same order they started. They often changed places in a short interval of time, and in that variety and vicissitude consisted all the diversion of the spectators.

It was not required, that those who disputed the victory should enter the lists, and drive their chariots in person. Their being spectators of the games, or sending their horses thither, was sufficient; but in either case, it was previously necessary to register the names of the persons, for whom the horses were to run, either in the chariot or single horse-races.

(g) At the time that the city of Potidæa surrendered to Philip, three couriers brought him advices; the first, that the Illyrians had been defeated in a great battle by his general Parmenio; the second, that he had carried the prize of the horse-race in the Olympick games; and the third, that the queen was delivered of a son. Plutarch seems to insinuate, that Philip was equally delighted with each of these circumstances.

(h) Hiero sent horses to Olympia, to run for the prize, and caused a magnificent pavilion to be erected for them. Upon this occasion Themistocles harangued the
E 5. Greeks,

(g) Plut. in Alex. p. 666.

(h) Plut. in Themist. p. 124.

Greeks, to persuade them to pull down the tyrant's pavilion, who had refused his aid against the common enemy, and to hinder his horses from running with the rest. It does not appear that any regard was had to this remonstrance; for we find by one of Pindar's odes, composed in honour of Hiero, that he won the prize in the equestrian races.

(i) No one ever carried the ambition of making a great figure in the publick games of Greece so far as Alcibiades, in which he distinguished himself in the most splendid manner, by the great number of horses and chariots, which he kept only for the races. There never was either private person or king that sent, as he did, seven chariots at once to the Olympick games, wherein he carried the first, second, and third prizes; an honour no one ever had before him. The famous poet Euripides celebrated these victories in an ode, of which Plutarch has preserved a fragment *in vit. Alcib.* The victor, after having made a sumptuous sacrifice to Jupiter, gave a magnificent feast to the innumerable multitude of the spectators at the games. It is not easy to comprehend, how the wealth of a private person should suffice to so enormous an expence: But Antisthenes the scholar of Socrates, who relates what he saw, informs us, that many cities of the allies, in a kind of emulation with each other, supplied Alcibiades with all things necessary for the support of such incredible magnificence. Equipages, horses, tents, sacrifices, the most exquisite provisions, the most delicate wines; in a word, all that was necessary to the support of his table or train. The passage is remarkable; for the same author assures us, ~~that~~ this was not only done when Alcibiades went to the Olympick games, but in all his military expeditions and journies by land or sea. "Wherever (says he) Alcibiades travelled, he made use of four of the allied cities as his servants. Ephesus furnished him with tents, as magnificent as those of the Persians; Chios took care to provide for his horses; Cyzicum supplied him with sacrifices, and provisions

" for

(i) Plut. in Alcibiad. p. 196.

"for his table; and Lesbos gave him wine, with all the
"other necessaries of his house."

I must not omit, in speaking of the Olympick games, that the ladies were admitted to dispute the prize in them as well as the men; which many of them obtained.

(*k*) Cynisca, sister of Agesilaus, king of Sparta, first opened this new path of glory to her sex, and was proclaimed victrix in the race of chariots with four horses.

(*l*) This victory, which till then had no example, did not fail of being celebrated with all possible splendor.

(*m*) A magnificent monument was erected in Sparta in honour of Cynisca; and the Lacedæmonians, though otherwise very little sensible to the charms of poetry, appointed a poet to transmit this new triumph to posterity, and to immortalize its memory by an inscription in verse.

(*n*) She herself dedicated a chariot of brass, drawn by four horses, in the temple of Delphos; in which the charioteer was also represented; a certain proof that she did not drive it herself. (*o*) In process of time, the picture of Cynisca, drawn by the famous Apelles, was annexed to it, and the whole adorned with many inscriptions in honour of that Spartan heroine.

Of the honours and rewards granted to the victors.

THESE honours and rewards were of several kinds. The spectators acclamations in honour of the victors were only a prelude to the rewards designed them. These rewards were different wreaths of wild olive, pine, parsley, or laurel, according to the different places where the games were celebrated. Those crowns were always attended with branches of palm, that the victors carried in their right hands; which custom, according to Plutarch (*p*) arose (perhaps) from the nature of the palm-tree, which displays new vigour the more endeavours are used to crush or bend it, and is a symbol of the champion's courage and resistance in the attainment of the

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prize.

(*k*) Pausan. l. iii. p. 172. (*l*) Pag. 288. (*m*) Pag. 272. (*n*) Id. l. v. p. 309. (*o*) Pausan. l. vi. p. 344. (*p*) Sympos. l. viii. quæst. 4.

prize. As he might be victor more than once in the same games, and sometimes on the same day, he might also receive several crowns and palms.

When the victor had received the crown and palm, an herald, preceded by a trumpet, conducted him through the Stadium, and proclaimed aloud his name and country, who passed in that kind of review before the people, whilst they redoubled their acclamations and applauses at the sight of him.

When he returned to his own country, the people came out in a body to meet him, and conducted him into the city, adorned with all the marks of his victory, and riding upon a chariot drawn by four horses. He made his entry not through the gates, but through a breach purposely made in the walls. Lighted torches were carried before him, and a numerous train followed to do honour to the procession.

The Athletick triumph almost always concluded with feasts made for the victors, their relations, and friends, either at the expence of the publick, or by particulars, who regaled not only their families and friends, but often a great part of the spectators. (*q*) Alcibiades, after having sacrificed to Jupiter, which was always the first care of the victor, treated the whole assembly. Leopron did the same, as Athenæus reports, (*r*); who adds, that Empedocles of Agrigentum, having conquered in the same games, and not having it in his power, being a Pythagorean, to regale the people with flesh or fish, he caused an ox to be made of a paste, composed of myrrh, incense, and all sorts of spices, of which pieces were given to all who were present.

One of the most honourable privileges granted to the athletick victors, was the right of taking place at the publick games. At Sparta it was a custom for the king to take them with him in military expeditions, to fight near his person, and to be his guard; which, with reason, was judged very honourable. Another privilege, in which

(*q*) Plut. in Alcib. p. 196.

(*r*) Lib. i. p. 3.

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which the useful united with the honourable, was that of being maintained for the rest of their lives at the expence of their country. (*s*) That this expence might not become too chargeable to the state, Solon reduced the pension of a victor in the Olympick games to five hundred drachmas, (*t*); in the Isthmian to an hundred (*u*); and in the rest in proportion. The victor and his country considered this pension less as a relief of the champion's indigence, than as a mark of honour and distinction. They were also exempted from all civil offices and employments.

The celebration of the games being over, one of the first applications of the magistrates, who presided in them, was to inscribe, in the publick register, the name and country of the Athletæ who had carried the prizes, and to annex the species of combat in which they had been victorious. The chariot-race had the preference to all other games. From whence the historians, who date their facts by the Olympiads, as Thucydides, Dionysius Halicarnasseus, Diodorus Siculus, and Pausanias, almost always express the Olympiad by the name and country of the victors in that race.

The praises of the victorious Athletæ were amongst the Greeks one of the principal subjects of their lyric poetry. We find, that all the odes in the four books of Pindar turn upon it, each of which takes its title from the games, in which the combatants signalized themselves, whose victories those poems celebrate. The poet, indeed, frequently enriches his matter, by calling in to the champion's assistance, incapable alone of inspiring all the enthusiasm necessary, the aid of the gods, heroes, and princes, who have any relation to his subject; and to support the flights of imagination, to which he abandons himself. Before Pindar, the poet Simonides practised the same manner of writing, intermingling the praises of the gods and heroes with those of the champions, whose victories he sang. (*x*) It is related upon this head, that

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(*s*) Diog. Laert. in Solon. p. 37.

(*t*) 250 livres.

(*u*) 50 livres.

(*x*). Cic. de Orat. l. ii. p. 352. 353. Phæd. l. ii. Fab. 24. Quintil.

xi. c. 2.

one of the victors in boxing, called Scopas, having agreed with Simonides for a poem upon his victory, the poet according to custom, after having given the highest praises to the champion, expatiates in a long digression to the honour of Castor and Pollux. Scopas, satisfied in appearance with the performance of Simonides, paid him however only the third part of the sum agreed on, referring him for the remainder to the Tyndarides, whom he had celebrated so well. And he was well paid their part in effect, if we may believe the sequel: for, at the feast given by the champion, whilst the guests were at table, a servant came to Simonides, and told him, that two men, covered with dust and sweat, were at the door, and desired to speak with him in all haste. He had scarcely set his foot out of the chamber, in order to go to them, when the roof fell in, and crushed the champion with all his guests to death.

Sculpture united with poetry to perpetuate the fame of the champions. Statues were erected to the victors, especially in the Olympick games, in the very place where they had been crowned, and sometimes in that of their birth also; which was commonly done at the expense of their country. Amongst the statues which adorned Olympia, were those of several children of ten or twelve years old, who had obtained the prize at that age in the Olympick games. They did not only raise such monuments to the champions, but to the very horses, to whose swiftness they were indebted for the Agonistick crown: And (y) Pausanias mentions one, which was erected in honour of a mare, called Aura, whose history is worth repeating. Phidolas, her rider, having fallen off in the beginning of the race, the mare continued to run in the same manner as if he had been upon her back. She outstriped all the rest, and upon the sound of the trumpets, which was usual toward the end of the race to animate the competitors, she redoubled her vigour and courage, turned round the goal; and, as if she had been sensible of the victory, presented herself before the judges

(y) Lib. vi. p. 368.

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of the games. The Ælians declared Phidolas victor, with permission to erect a monument to himself and the mare, that had served him so well.

The different taste of the Greeks and Romans, in regard to publick shows.

BEFORE I make an end of observing upon the combats and games, so much in estimation amongst the Greeks, I beg the reader's permission to make a reflection, that may serve to explain the different characters of the Greeks and Romans, with regard to this subject.

The most common entertainment of the latter, at which the fair sex, by nature tender and compassionate, were present in throngs, was the combats of the gladiators, and of men with bears and lions; in which the cries of the wounded and dying, and the abundant effusion of human blood, supplied a grateful spectacle for a whole people, who feasted their cruel eyes with the savage pleasure of seeing men murder one another in cool blood; and in the times of the persecutions, with the tearing in pieces of old men and infants, of women and tender virgins, whose age and weakness are apt to excite compassion in the hardest hearts.

In Greece these combats were absolutely unknown, and were only introduced into some cities after their subjection to the Roman people. (z) The Athenians, however, whose distinguished characteristicks were benevolence and humanity, never admitted them into their city; and when it was proposed to introduce the combats of the gladiators, that they might not be outdone by the Corinthians in that point, *First throw down*, cried out an * Athenian from the midst of the assembly, *the altar, erected above a thousand years ago by our ancestors to Mercy.*

It must be allowed, in this respect, that the conduct and wisdom of the Greeks was infinitely superior to that of

(z) Lucian in vit. Demonact. p. 1014.

* It was Demonax, a celebrated philosopher, who flourished in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

of the Romans. I speak of the wisdom of Pagans. Convinced that the multitude, too much governed by the objects of sense to be sufficiently amused and entertained with the pleasures of the understanding, could be delighted only with sensible objects, both nations were studious to divert them with games and shows, and such external contrivances as were proper to affect the senses. In the institution of which, each follows its peculiar genius and disposition.

The Romans, educated in war, and accustomed to battles, retained notwithstanding the politeness upon which they piqued themselves, something of their ancient ferocity; and hence it was, that the effusion of blood, and the murders exhibited in their publick shows, far from inspiring them with horror, was a grateful entertainment to them.

The insolent pomp of triumphs flows from the same source, and argues no less inhumanity. To obtain this honour, it was necessary to prove, that eight or ten thousand men at least had been killed in battle. The spoils which were carried with so much ostentation, proclaimed, that an infinity of honest families had been reduced to the utmost misery. The innumerable troop of captives had been free persons a few days before, and were often distinguishable for honour, merit, and virtue. The representation of the towns that had been taken in the war explained, that they had sacked, plundered, and burnt, the most opulent cities; and either destroyed, or enslaved their inhabitants. In fine, nothing was more inhuman, than to drag kings and princes in chains before the chariot of a Roman citizen, and to insult their misfortunes and humiliation in that publick manner.

(a) The triumphal arches, erected under the emperors, where the enemies appeared with chains upon their hands and legs, could proceed only from an haughty fierceness of disposition, and an inhuman pride, that took delight in immortalising the shame and sorrow of subjected nations.

The joy of the Greeks after a victory was far more modest.

(a) Plut. in Quæst. Rom. p. 273.

modest. They erected trophies indeed, but of wood, a matter little durable, which would soon consume; and those it was prohibited to renew. Plutarch's reason for this is admirable *. After time had destroyed and obliterated the marks of dissension and enmity, that had divided the people, it would have been the excess of odious and barbarous animosity, to have thought of re-establishing them, and to have perpetuated the remembrance of ancient quarrels, which could not be buried too soon in silence and oblivion. He adds, that the trophies of stone and brass, since substituted to those of wood, reflect no honour upon those who introduced the custom.

(b) I am pleased with the grief of Agesilaus's countenance, after a considerable victory, wherein a great number of his enemies, that is to say, of Greeks, were left upon the field, and to hear him utter, with sighs and groans, these words, so full of moderation and humanity: "Oh! unhappy Greece, to deprive thyself of so many brave citizens, and to destroy those who had been sufficient to have conquered all the Barbarians!"

The same spirit of moderation and humanity prevailed in the publick shows of the Greeks. Their festivals had nothing mournful or afflictive in them. Every thing in those feasts tended to delight, friendship, and harmony: and in that consisted one of the greatest advantages which resulted to Greece, from the solemnization of these games. The republicks, separated by distance of country, and diversity of interests, having the opportunity of meeting from time to time, in the same place, and in the midst of rejoicing and festivity allied themselves more strictly with one another, apprized each other against the Barbarians and the common enemies of their liberty, and made up their differences by the mediation of some neutral state in alliance with them. The same language, manners, sacrifices, exercises, and worship, all conspired to unite the several little states of Greece into one great and formidable

* ΟΤΙ ΤΗ ΧΡΩΝ ΤΑ ΣΗΜΕΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΤΕΤΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΚΗΣ ΔΙΑΦΡΑΣΙΣ ΑΜΑΥΡΕΝΤΕΣ
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(b) Plut. in Lacon. Apophthegm. p. 211.

formidable nation; and to preserve amongst them the same disposition, the same principles, the same zeal for their liberty, and the same passion for the arts and sciences.

Of the prizes of wit, and the shows and representations of the theatre.

I HAVE reserved for the conclusion of this head another kind of competition, which does not at all depend upon the strength, activity, and address of the body, and may be called with reason the combat of the mind; wherein the orators, historians, and poets, made trial of their capacities, and submitted their productions to the censure and judgement of the publick. The emulation in this sort of dispute was most lively and ardent, as the victory in question might justly be deemed to be infinitely superior to all the others, because it affects the man more nearly, is founded in his personal and internal qualities, and decides the merit of his wit and capacity; which are advantages we are apt to aspire at with the utmost vivacity and passion, and of which we are least of all inclined to renounce the glory to others.

It was a great honour, and at the same time a most sensible pleasure, for writers, who are generally fond of fame and applause, to have known how to reconcile the voices in their favour of so numerous and select an assembly, as that of the Olympick games; in which were present all the finest geniusses of Greece, and all the best judges of the excellency of a work. This theatre was equally open to history, eloquence, and poetry.

(c) Herodotus read his history in the Olympick games to all Greece, assembled at them, and was heard with such applause, that the names of the nine Muses were given to the nine books which compose his work; and the people cried out wherever he passed, *That is he, who has wrote our history, and celebrated our glorious successes against the Barbarians so excellently.*

All

All who had been present at the games, did afterwards make every part of Greece resound with the name and glory of this illustrious historian.

Lucian, who writes the fact I have repeated, adds, that after the example of Herodotus, many of the sophists and rhetoricians went to Olympia, to read the harangues of their composing; finding that the shortest and most certain method of acquiring a great reputation in a little time.

(d) Plutarch observes, that Lyfias the famous Athenian orator, contemporary with Herodotus, pronounced a speech in the Olympick games, wherein he congratulated the Greeks upon their reconciliation with each other, and their having united to reduce the power of Dionysius the Tyrant, as upon the greatest action they had ever done.

(e) We may judge of the passion of the poets to signalize themselves in these solemn games, from that of Dionysius himself. That prince, who had the foolish vanity to believe himself the most excellent poet of his time, appointed readers, called in the Greek *ῥαψωδοί*, (*Rhapsodists*) to read several pieces of his composing at Olympia. When they began to pronounce the verses of the royal poet, the strong and harmonious voices of the readers occasioned a profound silence, and they were heard at first with the greatest attention, which continually decreased as they went on, and turned at last into downright horse-laughes and hooting; so miserable did the verses appear. (f) He comforted himself for this disgrace by a victory he gained some time after in the feast of Bacchus at Athens, in which he caused a tragedy of his composition to be represented.

The disputes of the poets in the Olympick games were nothing, in comparison with the ardour and emulation expressed by them at Athens; which is what remains to be said upon this subject, and therefore I shall conclude with it; taking occasion to give my readers, at the

(d) Plut. de vit. Orat. p. 836.

(e) Diod. l. xiv. p. 318.

(f) Ibid. l. xv. p. 384.

the same time, a short view of the shows and representations of the theatre of the ancients. Those, who would be more fully informed in this subject, will find it treated at large in a work lately made publick by the reverend father Brumoi, the Jesuit; a work which abounds with profound knowledge and erudition, and with reflections entirely new, deduced from the nature of the poems of which it treats. I shall make considerable use of that piece, and often without citing it; which is not uncommon with me.

Extraordinary passion of the Athenians for the entertainments of the stage. Emulation of the poets in disputing the prizes in those representations. A short idea of dramatick poetry.

No people ever expressed so much ardour and passion for the entertainments of the theatre as the Greeks, and especially the Athenians. The reason of which is obvious: no people ever demonstrated such extent of genius, nor carried so far the love of eloquence and poesy, taste for the sciences, justness of sentiments, elegance of ear, and delicacy in all the refinements of language. * A poor woman, who sold herbs at Athens, distinguished Theophrastus to be a stranger, by a single word which he made use of in expressing himself. The common people got the tragedies of Euripides by heart. The genius of every nation expresses itself in the people's manner of passing their time, and in their pleasures. The great employment and delight of the Athenians were to amuse themselves with works of wit, and to judge of the dramatick pieces, that were acted by the publick authority several times a year, especially at the feasts of Bacchus, when the tragick and comick poets disputed for the prize. The former used to present four of their pieces at a time; except Sophocles, who did not think fit to continue so laborious an exercise, and confined himself to one performance, when he disputed the prize.

* Attica anus Theophrastum, notata unius affectatione verbi, hominem alioqui disertissimum, an-
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The state appointed judges, to determine upon the merit of the tragick or comick pieces, before they were represented in the festivals. They were acted before them in the presence of the people; but undoubtedly with no great preparation. The judges gave their suffrages, and that performance, which had the most voices, was declared victorious, received the crown as such, and was received with all possible pomp at the expence of the republick. This did not, however, exclude such pieces as were only in the second or third class. The best had not always the preference: For what times were exempt from party, caprice, ignorance, and prejudice? (g) Ælian is very angry with the judges, who, in one of these disputes, gave only the second place to Euripides. He accuses them of judging either without capacity, or of giving their voices for hire. It is easy to conceive the warmth and emulation, which these disputes and publick rewards excited amongst the poets, and how much they contributed to the perfection, to which Greece, carried dramatick performances.

The dramatick poem introduces the persons themselves, speaking and acting upon the stage: In the epick, on the contrary, only the poet relates the different adventures of his characters. It is natural to be delighted with fine descriptions of events, in which illustrious persons and whole nations are interested; and hence the epick poem had its origin. But we are quite differently affected with hearing those persons themselves, with being confidents of their most secret sentiments, and auditors and spectators of their resolutions, enterprizes, and the happy or unhappy events, attending them. To read and see an action are quite different things. We are infinitely more moved with what is acted than with what we read. The spectator, agreeably deceived by an imitation so nearly approaching life, mistakes the picture for the original, and thinks the
object

object real. This gave birth to dramattick poetry, which includes tragedy and comedy.

To these may be added the satyrick poem, which derives its name from the satyrs, rural gods, who were the chief characters in it ; and not from the *satire*, a kind of abusive poetry, which has no resemblance to this, and is of a much later date. The satyrick poem was neither tragedy nor comedy, but something between both, participating of the character of each. The poets, who disputed the prize, generally added one of these pieces to their tragedies, to allay the grave and solemnity of the one, with the mirth and pleasantry of the other. There is but one example of this ancient poem come down to us, which is the Cyclops of Euripides.

I shall confine myself upon this head to tragedy and comedy ; which had both their origin amongst the Greeks, who looked upon them as fruits of their own growth, of which they could never have enough. Athens was remarkable for an extraordinary appetite of this kind. These two poems, which were a long time comprized under the general name of tragedy, received there by degrees such improvements, as at length raised them to their last perfection.

The origin and progress of tragedy. Poets who excelled in it at Athens ; ÆSCHYLUS, SOPHOCLES, and EURIPIDES.

THERE had been many tragick and comick poets before Thespis ; but as they had altered nothing in the original rude form of this poem, Thespis was the first that made any improvement in it, he was generally esteemed its inventor. Before him, tragedy was no more than a jumble of buffoon tales in the comick style, intermixed with the singing of a chorus in praise of Bacchus ; for it is to the feasts of that god, celebrated at the time of the vintage, that tragedy owes its birth.

(b) La

(b) La tragedie, informe & grossiere en naissant,
 N'etoit qu'un simple chœur, ou chacun en dansant,
 Et du dieu des raisins entonnant les louanges,
 S'efforçoit d'attirer de fertiles vendanges.
 La, le vin & la joie eveillant les esprits,
 Du plus habile chantre un bouc etoit le prix.

*Formless and gross did tragedy arise,
 A simple chorus, rather mad than wise ;
 For fruitful vintages the dancing throng
 Roar'd to the god of grapes a drunken song :
 Wild mirth and wine sustain'd the frantick note,
 And the best singer had the prize, a goat.*

Thespis made several alterations in it, which Horace describes after Aristotle, in his Art of Poetry. The * first was to carry his actors about in a cart, whereas before they used to sing in the streets, wherever chance led them. Another was to have their faces smeared over with wine-lees instead of acting without disguise as at first. He also introduced a character among the chorus, who, to give the actors time to rest themselves and to take breath, repeated the adventures of some illustrious person ; which recital, at length, gave place to the subjects of tragedy.

(i) Thespis fut le premier, qui barbouillé de lie,
 Promena par les bourgs cette heureuse folie,
 Et d'acteurs mal ornés chargeant un tombereau,
 Amusa les passans d'un spectacle nouveau.

First

(b) Boileau Art. Poet. Cant. iii.

* Ignotum tragicæ genus invenisse camænæ
 Dicitur, & plaustris vexisse poemata Thespis,
 Quæ canerent agerentique peruncti sacibus ora,

Hor. de Art. Poet.

*When Thespis first expos'd the tragick muse,
 Rude were the actors, and a cart the scene,
 Where ghastly faces, smear'd with lees of wine,
 Frighted the children, and amus'd the crowd.*

Roscom. Art of Poet.

i) Boileau Art. Poet. Cant. iii.

*First Thespis, smear'd with lees, and void of art,
The grateful folly vented from a cart ;
And as his tawdry actors drove about,
The sight was new, and charm'd the gaping rout.*

(k) Thespis lived in the time of Solon. That wise legislator, upon seeing his pieces performed, expressed his dislike, by striking his staff against the ground ; apprehending, that these poetical fictions, and idle stories, from mere theatrical representations, would soon become matters of importance, and have too great a share in all publick and private affairs.

It is not so easy to invent, as to improve the inventions of others. The alterations Thespis made in tragedy, gave room for Æschylus to make new and more considerable of his own. He was born at Athens, in the first year of the sixtieth Olympiad (l). He took upon him the profession of arms, at a time when the Athenians reckoned almost as many heroes as citizens. He was at the battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea, where he did his duty. But his disposition called him elsewhere, and put him upon entering into another course, where no less glory was to be acquired (m) ; and where he was soon without any competitors. As a superior genius, he took upon him to reform, or rather to create tragedy anew ; of which he has, in consequence, been always acknowledged the inventor and father. Father Brumoi, in a dissertation which abounds with wit and good sense, explains the manner in which Æschylus conceived the true idea of tragedy from Homer's epick poems. That poet himself used to say, that his works were only copies in relievo of Homer's draughts in the Iliad and Odyssey.

Tragedy therefore took a new form under him. He gave * marks to his actors, adorned them with robes and trains,

(k) A. M. 3440. Ant. J. C. 564. Plut. in Solon. p. 95.

(l) A. M. 3464. Ant. J. C. 540. (m) A. M. 3514. Ant. J. C. 490.

* Post hunc personæ pallæque repertor honestæ

Æschylus, & modicis intravit pulpita tignis,

Et docuit magnumque loqui, nitique cothurno. *Hor. de Art. Poet.*

Th

trains, and made them wear buskins. Instead of a cart, he erected a theatre of a moderate extent, and entirely changed their style; which from being merry and burlesque, as at first, became majestick and serious.

(n) Eschyle dans le chœur jetta les personages;
D'un masque plus honnête habilla les visages:
Sur les ais d'un theatre en public exhausté
Fit paroître l'acteur d'un brodequin chauffé.

*From Æschylus the chorus learnt new grace:
He veil'd with decent masks the actor's face,
Taught him in buskins first to tread the stage,
And rais'd a theatre to please the age.*

But that was only the external part or body of tragedy. Its soul, which was the most important and essential addition of Æschylus, consisted in the vivacity and spirit of the action, sustained by the dialogue of the persons of the drama introduced by him; in the artful working up of the greater passions, especially of terror and pity, that, by alternately afflicting and agitating the soul with mournful or terrible objects, produce a grateful pleasure and delight from that very trouble and emotion; in the choice of a subject great, noble, affecting, and contained within the due bounds of time, place, and action: in fine, it is the conduct and disposition of the whole piece, which, by the order and harmony of its parts, and the happy connection of its incidents and intrigues, holds the mind of the spectator in suspense till the catastrophe, and then restores him his tranquillity, and dismisses him with satisfaction.

The chorus had been established before Æschylus, as it composed alone, or next to alone, what was then

*This Æschylus (with indignation) saw,
And built a stage, found out a decent dress,
Brought viçars (in a civiler disguise)
And taught men how to speak, and how to act.* Roscom. Art of Poet.
(n) Boileau Art. Poet.

*First Thespis, smear'd with lees, and void of art,
The grateful folly vented from a cart ;
And as his tawdry actors drove about,
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Æschylus, & modicis intravit pulpita tignis,

Et docuit magnumque loqui, nitique cothurno. *Hor. de Art. Pœt.*

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trains, and made them wear buskins. Instead of a cart, he erected a theatre of a moderate extent, and entirely changed their style; which from being merry and burlesque, as at first, became majestick and serious.

(n) *Æschyle dans le chœur jetta les personages ;
D'un masque plus honnête habilla les visages :
Sur les ais d'un theatre en public exhausté
Fit paroître l'acteur d'un brodequin chauffé.*

*From Æschylus the chorus learnt new grace :
He veil'd with decent masks the actor's face,
Taught him in buskins first to tread the stage,
And rais'd a theatre to please the age.*

But that was only the external part or body of tragedy. Its soul, which was the most important and essential addition of Æschylus, consisted in the vivacity and spirit of the action, sustained by the dialogue of the persons of the drama introduced by him; in the artful working up of the greater passions, especially of terror and pity, that, by alternately afflicting and agitating the soul with mournful or terrible objects, produce a grateful pleasure and delight from that very trouble and emotion; in the choice of a subject great, noble, affecting, and contained within the due bounds of time, place, and action: in fine, it is the conduct and disposition of the whole piece, which, by the order and harmony of its parts, and the happy connection of its incidents and intrigues, holds the mind of the spectator in suspense till the catastrophe, and then restores him his tranquillity, and dismisses him with satisfaction.

The chorus had been established before Æschylus, as it composed alone, or next to alone, what was then

*This Æschylus (with indignation) saw,
And built a stage, found out a decent dress,
Brought vixens (in a civiler disguise)
And taught men how to speak, and how to act.* Roscom. Art of Poet.
(n) Boileau Art. Poet.

called tragedy. He did not therefore exclude it, but, on the contrary, thought fit to incorporate it, to sing as chorus between the acts. Thus it supplied the interval of resting, and was a kind of person of the drama, employed * either in giving useful counsels and salutary instructions, in espousing the party of innocence and virtue, in being the depository of secrets, and the avenger of violated religion, or to sustain all those characters at the same time, according to Horace. The coryphæus, or principal person of the chorus, spoke for the rest.

In one of Æschylus's pieces, called the Eumenides, the poet represents Orestes at the bottom of the stage, surrounded by the furies, laid asleep by Apollo. Their figure must have been extremely horrible, as it is related, that upon their waking and appearing tumultuously on the theatre, where they were to act as a chorus, some women miscarried with the surprise, and several children died of the fright. The chorus at that time consisted of fifty actors. After this accident, it was reduced to fifteen by an express law, and at length to twelve.

I have observed that one of the alterations made by Æschylus in tragedy, was the mask worn by his actors. These

* Actoris partes chorus officiumque virile
Defendat, neu quid medios intercinat actus,
Quod non proposito conducatur, & hæreat apte.
Ille bonis faveatque, & concilietur amicis,
Et regat iratos, & amet peccare timentes.
Ille dapes laudet, mensæ brevis; ille salubrem
Iustitiam, legesque & apertis otia portis.
Ille regat commissa, deosque precetur & oret,
Ut redeat miseris, abeat fortuna superbis.

Hor. de Art. Poet.

*The chorus should supply what action wants,
And bath a generous and manly part;
Bridles wild rage, loves rigid honesty,
And strict observance of impartial laws,
Sobriety, security, and peace,
And begs the gods to turn blind Fortune's wheel,
To raise the wretched, and pull down the proud;
But nothing must be sung between the acts,
But what some way conduces to the plot.*

Roscom. Art of Poetry translated.

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These dramattick masks had no resemblance to ours, which only cover the face, but were a kind of case for the whole head, and which, besides the features, represented the beard, the hair, the ears, and even the ornaments used by women in their head-dresses. These masks varied according to the different pieces that were acted. They are treated at large in a dissertation of Mr. Boindin's, inserted in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres* (o).

I could never comprehend, as I have observed elsewhere (p) in speaking of pronunciation, how masks came to continue so long upon the stage of the ancients; for certainly they could not be used, without considerably flattening the spirit of the action, which is principally expressed in the countenance, the seat and mirror of what passed in the soul. Does it not often happen, that the blood, according to its being put in motion by different passions, sometimes covers the face with a sudden and modest blush, sometimes outflames it with the heats of rage and fury, sometimes retires, leaving it pale with fear, and at others, diffuses a calm and amiable serenity over it? All these affections are strongly imaged and distinguished in the lineaments of the face. The mask deprives the features of this energy of language, and of that life and soul, by which it is the faithful interpreter of all the sentiments of the heart. I do not wonder, therefore, at Cicero's remark upon the action of Roscius*. "Our ancestors (says he,) were better judges than we are, They could not wholly approve even Roscius himself, whilst he performed in a mask."

Æschylus was in the sole possession of the glory of the stage, with almost every voice in his favour, when a young rival made his appearance to dispute the palm with him. This was Sophocles. He was born at Colonos, a town in Attica, in the second year of the

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(o) Vol. IV.

(p) *Manner of teaching, &c.* Vol. IV.* Quo melius nostri illi senes, personatum, ne Roscium, *Lib. iii. quidem, magnopere laudabant qui de Orat. n. 221.*

seventy-first Olympiad. His father was a blacksmith, or one who kept people of that trade to work for him. His first essay was a master-piece. When, upon the occasion of Cymon's having found the bones of Theseus, and their being brought to Athens, a dispute between the tragick poets was appointed, Sophocles entered the lists with Æschylus, and carried the prize against him. The ancient victor, laden till then with the wreaths he had acquired, believed them all lost by failing of the last, and withdrew in disgust into Sicily to king Hiero, the protector and patron of all the learned in disgrace at Athens. He died there soon after in a very singular manner, if we may believe Suidas. As he lay asleep in the fields, with his head bare, an eagle, taking his bald head for a stone, let a tortoise fall upon it, which killed him. Of ninety, or at least seventy, tragedies, composed by him, only seven are now extant.

Nor have those of Sophocles escaped the injury of time better, though one hundred and seventeen in number, and according to some one hundred and thirty. He retained to extreme old age all the force and vigour of his genius, as appears from a circumstance in his history. His children, unworthy of so great a father, upon pretence that he had lost his senses, summoned him before the judges in order to obtain a decree, that his estate might be taken from him, and put into their hands. He made no other defence, than to read a tragedy he was at that time composing, called *Œdipus at Colonos*, with which the judges were so charmed, that he carried his cause unanimously; and his children, detested by the whole assembly, got nothing by their suit, but the shame and infamy of so flagrant an ingratitude. He was twenty times crowned victor. Some say he expired in repeating his *Antigone*, for want of power to recover his breath, after a violent endeavour to pronounce a long period to the end. Others, that he died of joy upon his being declared victor, contrary to his expectation. The figure of an hive was placed upon his tomb, to perpetuate the name of bee, which had

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given him from the sweetness of his verses: Whence it is probable, the notion was derived, of the bees having settled upon his lips when in his cradle. (q) He died in his ninetieth year, the fourth of the ninety-third Olympiad, after having survived Euripides six years, who was not so old as himself.

(r) The latter was born in the first year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad, at Salamin, whither his father Menestarchus and mother Clito had retired when Xerxes was preparing for his great expedition against Greece. He applied himself at first to philosophy, and, amongst others, had the celebrated Anaxagoras for his master. But the danger incurred by that great man, who was very near being made the victim of his philosophical tenets, inclined him to the study of poetry. He discovered in himself a genius for the drama, unknown to him at first; and employed it with such success, that he entered the lists with the greatest masters, of whom we have been speaking. * His works sufficiently denote his profound application to philosophy. They abound with excellent maxims of morality; and it is in that view Socrates in his time, and † Cicero long after him, set so high a value upon Euripides.

One cannot sufficiently admire the extreme delicacy, expressed by the Athenian audience on certain occasions, and their solicitude to preserve the reverence due to morality, virtue, decency, and justice. It is surprising to observe the warmth with which they unanimously reprov'd whatever seemed inconsistent with them, and called the poet to an account for it, notwithstanding his having the best founded excuse, in giving such sentiments only to persons notoriously vicious, and actuated by the most unjust passions.

Euripides had put into the mouth of Bellerophon a pompous panegyrick upon riches, which concluded with

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this

(q) A. M. 3599. Ant. J. C. 405.

(r) A. M. 3524. Ant. J. C. 480.

* Sententiis densus, & in iis quæ a sapientibus sunt pene ipsis est par.

nescio: ego certe singulos ejus versus singula testimonia puto. *Epist. viii.*

Quintil. l. x. c. i.

l. 14. ad Famil.

† Cui (Euripidi) quantum credas

this thought. *Riches are the supreme good of human race, and with reason excite the admiration of the gods and men.* The whole theatre cried out against these expressions, and he would have been banished directly, if he had not desired the sentence to be respited till the conclusion of the piece, in which the advocate for riches perished miserably.

He was in danger of incurring no common inconveniences from an answer he makes Hippolitus give his mother, upon her representing to him, that he had engaged himself under an inviolable oath to keep her secret. *My tongue, it is true, pronounced that oath,* replied he, *but my heart gave no consent to it.* This frivolous distinction appeared to the whole people, as an express contempt of the religion and sanctity of an oath, that tended to banish all sincerity and faith from society, and the commerce of life.

Another maxim * advanced by Eteocles in the tragedy called the Phœnicians, and which Cæsar had always in his mouth, is no less pernicious. *If justice may be violated at all, it is when a throne is in question; in other respects, let it be duely revered.* It is highly criminal in Eteocles, or rather in Euripides, says Cicero, to make an exception in that very point, wherein such violation is the highest crime that can be committed. Eteocles is a tyrant, and speaks like a tyrant, who vindicates his unjust conduct by a false maxim; and it is not strange, that Cæsar, who was a tyrant by nature, and equally unjust, should apply the sentiments of a prince, whom he so much resembled. But what is remarkable in Cicero, is his falling upon the poet himself, and imputing to him as a crime, the having advanced so pernicious a principle upon the stage.

(s) Lycurgus, the orator, who lived in the time of Philip and Alexander the Great, to re-animate the spirit of the tragick poets, caused three statues of brass to be erected in the name of the people to Æschylus, Sophocles,

(s) Plut. in vit. x. orat. p. 841.

* Ipse autem fœcer (Cæsar) in ore semper Græcos versus Euripides, de Phœnissis habebat, quos dicam ut pœtero, incondite fortasse, sed tamen ut res possit intelligi.

Nam, si violandum est jus, reg-

nandi gratia violandum est; aliis rebus pietatem colas.

Capitalis Eteocles, vel potius Euripides, qui id unum quod omnium sceleratissimum fuerat exceperit. *Offic.* l. iii. n. 82.

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cles, and Euripides; and having ordered their works to be transcribed, he appointed them to be carefully preserved amongst the publick archives, from whence they were taken from time to time to be read; the players not being permitted to represent them on the stage.

The reader expects no doubt, after what has been said upon the three poets, who invented, improved, and carried tragedy to its perfection, that I should observe upon the peculiar excellencies of their style and character. For that I must refer to Father Brumoi, who will do it much better than it is in my power. After having laid down, as an undoubted principle, that the epick poem, that is to say Homer, pointed out the way for the tragick poets, and having demonstrated, by reflections drawn from human nature, upon what principles, and by what degrees, this happy imitation was conducted to its end, he goes on to describe the three poets, upon whom he treats in the most lively and shining colours.

Tragedy took at first from Æschylus, its inventor, a much more lofty stile than the Iliad; that is, the *magnum loqui* mentioned by Horace. Perhaps Æschylus, who was its author, was too pompous, and carried the tragick style too high. It is not Homer's trumpet, but something more. His sounding, swelling, gigantick diction resembles rather the beating of drums and the shouts of battle, than the nobler harmony and silver sound of the trumpet. The elevation and grandeur of his genius would not admit him to speak the language of other men, so that his muse seemed rather to walk in stilts, than in the buskins of his own invention.

Sophocles understood much better the true excellence of the dramatic style: He therefore copies Homer more closely, and blends in his diction that honeyed sweetness, from whence he was denominated *the Bee*, with a gravity that gives his tragedy the modest air of a matron compelled to appear in publick with dignity, as Horace expresses it.

The style of Euripides, though noble, is less removed from the familiar; and he seems to have affected rather the pathetick and the elegant, than the nervous and the lofty.

As Corneille, says Mr. Brumoi in another place, after having opened to himself a path entirely new and unknown to the ancients, seems like an eagle towering in the clouds, from the sublimity, force, unbroken progress, and rapidity of his flight; and, as Racine, in copying the ancients in a manner entirely his own, imitates the swan, that sometimes floats upon the air, sometimes rises, then falls again with an excellence of 'motion, and a grace peculiar to herself; so Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, have each of them a particular tour and method. The first, as the inventor and father of tragedy, is like a torrent rolling impetuously over rocks, forests, and precipices; the second resembles a * canal, which flows gently through delicious gardens; and the third a river, that does not follow its course in a continued line, but loves to turn and wind his silver wave thro' flowery meads and rural scenes.

Mr. Brumoi gives this character of the three poets, to whom the Athenian stage was indebted for its perfection in tragedy. † Æschylus drew it out of its original chaos and confusion, and made it appear in some degree of lustre; but it still retained the rude unfinished air of things in their beginning, which are generally defective in point of art and method. Sophocles and Euripides added infinitely to the dignity of tragedy. The style of the first, as has been observed, is more noble and majestic; of the latter, more tender and pathetick; each perfect in their way. In this diversity of character, it is difficult to resolve which is most excellent. The learned have always been divided upon this head; as we are at this day, in regard to the two poets of our own nation, whose tragedies have made our stage illustrious, and not inferior to that of Athens.

I have

* I cannot tell whether the idea of a canal, that flows gently through delicious gardens, may properly imply the character of Sophocles, which is peculiarly distinguished by nobleness, grandeur, and elevation. That of an impetuous and rapid stream, whose waves, from the violence of

their motion, are loud, and to be heard afar off, seems to me a more suitable image of that poet.

† Tragedias primus in lucem Æschylus protulit: • sublimis, & gravis, & grandiloquus sæpe usque ad vitium: sed rudis in plerisque & incompotus. Quintil. l. x. p. 1.

I have observed, that the tender and pathetick distinguishes the compositions of Euripides, of which Alexander of Pheræ, the most cruel of tyrants, was a proof. That barbarous man, upon seeing the Troades of Euripides acted, found himself so moved with it that he quitted the theatre before the conclusion of the play; professing, that he was ashamed to be seen in tears for the distress of Hercules and Andromache, who had never shown the least compassion for his own citizens, of whom he had butchered such numbers.

When I speak of the tender and pathetick, I would not be understood to mean a passion that softens the heart into effeminacy, and which, to our reproach, is almost only received upon our stage, though rejected by the ancients, and condemned by the nations around us of greatest reputation for their genius, and taste of the sciences and polite learning. The two great principles for moving the passions amongst the ancients, were terror and pity (*t*). And indeed, as we naturally determine every thing from its relation to ourselves, to our particular interest; when we see persons of exalted rank or virtue sinking under great evils, the fear of the like misfortunes, with which we know that human life is on all sides invested, seizes upon us, and from a secret impulse of self-love, we find ourselves sensibly affected with the distresses of others: besides which, the sharing a * common nature with the rest of our species, makes us sensible to whatever befalls them. Upon a close and attentive enquiry into those two passions they will be found the most important, active, extensive, and general affections of the soul; including all orders of men, great and small, rich and poor, of whatever age or condition. Hence the ancients, accustomed to consult nature, and to take her for their guide in all things, conceived terror and compassion to be the soul of tragedy; and for that reason, that those affections ought to prevail in it. The passion of love was in no estimation amongst them, and had seldom

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* Homo sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto.

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dom any share in their dramattick pieces ; though with us it is a received opinion, that they cannot be supported without it.

It is worth our trouble to examine briefly in what manner this passion, which has always been deemed a weakness and a blemish in the greatest characters, got such footing upon our stage. Corneille, who was the first who brought the French tragedy to any perfection, and whom all the rest have followed, found the whole nation enamoured to madness of romances, and little disposed to admire any thing not resembling them. From the desire of pleasing his audience, who were at the same time his judges, he endeavoured to move them in the manner they had been accustomed to be affected ; and by introducing love in his scenes, to bring them the nearer to the predominant taste of the age for romance. From the same source arose that multiplicity of incidents, episodes, and adventures, with which our tragick pieces are crowded and obscured ; so contrary to probability which will not admit such a number of extraordinary and surprising events in the short space of four-and-twenty hours ; so contrary to the simplicity of ancient tragedy ; and so adapted to conceal, in the assemblage of so many different objects, the sterility of the genius of a poet, more intent upon the marvellous, than upon the probable and natural.

Both the Greeks and Romans have preferred the iambick to the heroick verse in their tragedies ; not only as at the first it has a kind of dignity better adapted to the stage, but whilst it approaches nearer to prose, retains sufficiently the air of poetry to please the ear ; and yet has too little of it to put the audience in mind of the poet, who ought not to appear at all in representations, where other persons are supposed to speak and act. Monsieur Dacier makes a very just reflection in this respect. He says, that it is the misfortune of our tragedy to have almost no other verse than what it has in common with epick poetry, elegy, pastoral, satyr, and comedy ; whereas the learned languages have a great variety of versification.

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This inconvenience is highly obvious, in our tragedy ; which cannot avoid being removed by it from the natural and probable, as it obliges heroes, princes, kings, and queens, to express themselves in a pompous strain in their familiar conversation, which it would be ridiculous to attempt in real life. The giving utterance to the most impetuous passions in an uniform cadence, and by hemistichs and rhimes, would undoubtedly be tedious and offensive to the ear, if the charms of poetry, the elegance of expression, the spirit of the sentiments, and perhaps, more than all of them, the resistless force of custom, had not in a manner subjected our reason, and illuded our judgement.

It was not chance, therefore, which suggested to the Greeks the use of iambicks in their tragedy. Nature itself seems to have dictated that kind of verse to them. Instructed by the same unerring guide, they made choice of a different versification for the chorus, more capable of affecting, and of being sung ; because it was necessary for the poetry to shine out in all its lustre, whilst the free conversation between the real actors was suspended. The chorus was an embellishment of the representation, and a relaxation of the audience, and therefore required more exalted poetry and numbers to support it, when united with musick and dancing.

Of the ancient, middle, and new comedy.

WHILST tragedy arose in this manner at Athens, comedy, the second species of dramattick poetry, and which, till then, had been much neglected, began to be cultivated with more attention. Nature was the common parent to both. We are sensibly affected with the dangers, distresses, misfortunes, and, in a word, with whatever relates to the lives and conduct of illustrious persons ; and this gave birth to tragedy. And we are as curious to know the adventures, conduct, and defects of our equals ; which supply us with occasions of laughing, and being merry at the expence of others. Hence come-

dy derives itself; which is properly an image of private life. Its design is to expose defects and vice upon the stage, and by affixing ridicule to them, to make them contemptible; and consequently to instruct by diverting. Ridicule therefore (or, to express the same word by another, Pleasantry) ought to prevail in comedy.

This poem took at different times three different forms at Athens, as well from the genius of the poets, as from the influence of the government; which occasioned various alterations in it.

The ancient comedy, so called * by Horace, and which he dates after the time of Æschylus, retained something of its original rudeness, and the liberty it had been used to take of buffooning and reviling the spectators from the cart of Theſpis. Though it was become regular in its plan, and worthy of a great theatre, it had not learnt to be more reserved. It represented real transactions with the names, habits, gestures and likenesses in masks, of whomsoever it thought fit to sacrifice to the publick diversion. In a state where it was held good policy to unmask whatever carried the air of ambition, singularity, or knavery, comedy assumed the privilege to harangue, reform, and advise the people upon the most important occasions, and interests. Nothing was spared in a city of so much liberty, or rather licence, as Athens was at that time. Generals, magistrates, government, the very gods, were abandoned to the poet's satyrical vein; and all as well received, providing the comedy was diverting, and the Attick salt not wanting.

(u) In one of these comedies, not only the priest of Jupiter determines to quit his service, because more sacrifices are not offered to the god; but Mercury himself comes in a starving condition, to seek his fortune amongst mankind, and offers to serve as a porter, futtler, bailiff, guide, door-keeper; in short, in any capacity, rather than to return to heaven. In another (x) the same gods in the extreme want and necessity, from the birds having built

* *Successit vetus his comœdia non sine multa*
Laude.

(u) Plautus.

(x) *The Birds.*

Hor. en Art. Poet.

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built a city in the air, whereby their provisions are cut off, and the smoke of incense and sacrifices prevented from ascending to heaven, depute three ambassadors in the name of Jupiter to conclude a treaty of accommodation with the birds, upon such conditions as they shall approve. The chamber of audience, where the three famished gods are received, is a kitchen well-stored with excellent game of all sorts. Here Hercules, deeply smitten with the smell of roast meat, which he apprehends to be more exquisite and nutritious than that of incense, begs leave to make his abode, and to turn the spit, and assist the cook upon occasion. The other pieces of Aristophanes abound with strokes still more satyrical and severe upon the principal divinities.

I am not much surprized at the poet's insulting the gods, and treating them with the utmost contempt, from whom he had nothing to fear: But I cannot help wondering at his having brought the most illustrious and powerful persons of Athens upon the stage, and that he presumed to attack the government itself without any manner of respect or reserve.

Cleon, having returned triumphant, contrary to the general expectation, from the expedition against Sphacteria, was looked upon by the people as the greatest captain of that age. Aristophanes, to set that bad man in a true light, who was the son of a currier, and a currier himself, and whose rise was owing solely to his temerity and imprudence, was so bold as to make him the subject of a comedy (y), without being awed by his power and reputation: But he was obliged to play the part of Cleon himself, and appeared for the first time upon the stage in that character; not one of the comedians daring to represent him, or to expose himself to the resentment of so formidable an enemy. His face was smeared over with wine-lees; because no workman could be found, that would venture to make a mask resembling Cleon, as was usual when persons were brought upon the stage. In this piece he reproaches him with embezzling
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(y) *The Knights.*

the publick treasures, with a violent passion for bribes and presents, with craft in seducing the people, and denies him the glory of the action at Sphacteria, which he attributes chiefly to the share his colleague had in it.

In the *Acharnians*, he accuses Lamachus of having been made general, rather by bribery than merit. He imputes to him his youth, inexperience, and idleness; at the same time that he, and many others, convert to their own use the rewards due only to valour and real services. He reproaches the republic with their preference of the younger citizens to the elder in the government of the state, and the command of armies. He tells them plainly, that when the peace shall be concluded, neither Cleonymus, Hyperbolus, nor many other such knaves, all mentioned by name, shall have any share in the publick affairs; they being always ready to accuse their fellow-citizens of crimes, and to enrich themselves by such informations.

In his comedy called the *Wasps*, imitated by Racine in his *Plaideurs*, he exposes the mad passion of the people for prosecutions and trials at law, and the enormous injustice frequently committed in passing sentence and giving judgment.

The poet (z), concerned to see the republick obstinately bent upon the unhappy expedition of Sicily, endeavours to excite in the people a final disgust for so ruinous a war, and to inspire them with the desire of a peace, as much the interest of the victors as the vanquished, after a war of several years duration, equally pernicious to each party, and capable of involving all Greece in ruin.

None of Aristophanes's pieces explains better his boldness, in speaking upon the most delicate affairs of the state in the crowded theatre, than his comedy called *Lyfistrata*. One of the principal magistrates of Athens had a wife of that name, who is supposed to have taken it into her head to compel Greece to conclude a peace. She relates, how, during the war, the women enquiring

(z) *The Peace*.

of their husbands the result of their counsels, and whether they had not resolved to make peace with Sparta, received no answers but imperious looks, and orders to meddle with their own affairs: That, however, they perceived plainly to what a low condition the government was declined: That they took the liberty to remonstrate mildly to their husbands upon the rashness of their counsels; but that their humble representations had no other effect than to offend and enrage them: That, in fine, being confirmed by the general opinion of all Attica, that there were no longer any men in the state, nor heads for the administration of affairs, their patience being quite exhausted, the women had thought it proper and adviseable to take the government upon themselves, and preserve Greece, whether it would or no, from the folly and madness of its resolves. "For her part, she declares, that she has taken possession of the city and treasury, in order, (says she) to prevent Pisander and his confederates, the four hundred administrators, from exciting troubles according to their custom, and from robbing the publick as usual." (Was ever any thing so bold?)—She goes on with proving, that the women only are capable of retrieving affairs, by this burlesque argument; that admitting things to be in such a state of perplexity and confusion, the sex, accustomed to untangling their threads, were the only persons to set them right again, as being best qualified with the necessary address, temper, and moderation. The Athenian politicks are thus made inferior to the abilities of the women, which are only represented in a ridiculous light, to turn the derision upon their husbands in the administration of the government.

These extracts from Aristophanes, taken almost word for word from father Brumoi, seemed to me very proper for a right understanding at once of that poet's character, and the genius of the ancient comedy, which was, as we see, a true satyr of the most poignant and severe kind, that had assumed to itself an independency from respect to persons, and to which nothing was sacred. It is no wonder

wonder that Cicero condemns so licentious and excessive a liberty. * It might, says he, have been tolerable, had it only attacked bad citizens, and seditious orators, who endeavoured to raise commotions in that state, such as Cleon, Clephon, and Hyperbolus; but when a Pericles, who for many years had governed the commonwealth both in war and peace with equal wisdom and authority (he might have added, and a Socrates, declared by Apollo the wisest of mankind) is brought upon the stage to be laughed at by the publick, it is as if our Plautus, or Nævius, had fallen upon the Scipioes, or Cæcilius reviled Marcus Cato in his writings.

That liberty is still more offensive to us, who are born in, and live under a monarchical government, which is far from being favourable to licence. But without intending to justify the conduct of Aristophanes, which, to judge properly of it, is inexcusable, I think it would be necessary to lay aside the prejudices of nature, nations, and times, and to imagine we live in those remote ages in a state purely democratical. We must not fancy Aristophanes to have been a person of little consequence in his republick, as the comick writers generally are in our days. The king of Persia had a very different idea of him. (a) It is a known story, that in an audience of the Greek ambassadors, his first enquiry was after a certain comick poet (meaning Aristophanes) that put all Greece in motion, and gave such effectual counsels against him. Aristophanes did that upon the stage, which Demosthenes did afterwards in the publick assemblies. The poet's reproaches were no less animated than the orator's, His comedies spoke a language that became the councils of the republick. It was addressed to the same people, upon

(a) Aristoph. in Acharn.

* Quem illa non attigit, vel potius quem non vexavit? Eisto, populares homines improbus, in remp. seditiosos, Cleonem, Cleophonem, Hyperbolum læsit: patiamur—Sed Periclem, cum jam suæ civitati maxima auctoritate plurimos annos domi et

belli prætuisset, violari versibus, & eos agi in scena, non plus decuit, quam si Plautus noster voluisset, aut Nævius P. & Cn. Scipioni, aut Cæcilius M. Catoni maledicere. Ex

fragm. Cic. de Rep. lib. iv.

upon the same occasions of the state, the same means to success, and the same obstacles to their measures. In Athens the whole people were the sovereign, and each of them had an equal share in the supreme authority. Upon this they were continually intent, were fond of discouraging themselves, and of hearing the sentiments of others. The publick affairs were the business of every individual; in which they were desirous of being fully informed, that they might know how to conduct themselves on every occasion of war or peace, which frequently offered, and to distinguish upon their own, as well as upon the destiny of their allies, or enemies. Hence rose the liberty, taken by the comick poets, of introducing the affairs of the state into their performances. The people were so far from being offended at it, or at the manner in which those writers treated the principal persons of the state, that they conceived their liberty in some measure to consist in it.

Three * persons particularly excelled in the ancient comedy; Eupolis, Cratinus, and Aristophanes. The last is the only one of them, whose pieces have come entire down to us, and out of the great number of those, eleven are all that remain. He flourished in an age when Greece abounded with great men, and was contemporary with Socrates and Euripides, whom he survived. During the Peloponnesian war, he made the greatest figure; less as a writer to amuse the people with his comedies, than

26

- * Eupolis, atque Cratinus, Aristophanesque poetæ,
Atque alii, quorum comædia prisca virorum est,
Si quis erat dignus describi, quod malus, aut fur,
Quod mæchus foret, aut Sicarius, aut alioqui
Famulus; multa cum libertate notabant.

Hor. Sat. IV. l. i.

*With Aristophanes' satyrick rage,
When ancient comedy amus'd the age,
Or Eupolis', or Cratinus' wit;
And others that all-licens'd poem writ;
None, worthy to be shewn, escap'd the scene,
No publick knave, or thief of lofty mein;
The loose adult'rer was drawn forth to light;
The secret murth'rer trembling lurk'd the night;
Vice play'd itself, and each ambitious spark;
All boldly branded with the poet's mark.*

as a cenſor of the government, retained to reform the ſtate, and to be almoſt the arbiter of his country.

He is admired for an elegance, poignancy, and happineſs of expreſſion, or, in a word, that Attick ſalt and ſpirit, to which the Roman language could never attain, and for * which Ariſtophanes is more remarkable than any other of the Greek authors. His particular excellence was raillery. None ever touched the ridicule in characters with ſuch ſucceſs, or knew better how to convey it in all its full force to others. But it were neceſſary to have lived in his times for a right taſte of his works. The ſubtle ſalt and ſpirit of the ancient raillery, according to Mr. Brumoi, is evaporated through length of time, and what remains of it is become flat and inſipid to us; though the ſharpeſt part will retain its vigour throughout all ages.

Two conſiderable defects are juſtly imputed to this poet, which very much obſcure, if not entirely efface his glory. Theſe are, low buffoonery, and groſs obſcenity; which objections have been oppoſed to no purpoſe from the character of his audience; the bulk of which generally conſiſted of the poor, the ignorant, and dregs of the people, whom however it was as neceſſary to pleaſe, as the learned and the rich. The depravity of the inferior people's taſte, which once baniſhed Cratinus and his company, becauſe his ſcenes were not groſsly comick enough for them, is no excuſe for Ariſtophanes, as Menander could find out the art of changing that groveling taſte, by introducing a ſpecies of comedy, not altogether ſo modeſt as Plutarch ſeems to inſinuate, yet much chaſter than any before his time.

The groſs obſcenities, with which all Ariſtophanes's comedies abound, have no excuſe; they only denote an exceſſive libertinism in the ſpectators, and depravity in the poet. The utmoſt ſalt that could have been beſtowed upon them, which however is not the caſe, would not have atoned for laughing himſelf, or for making others

laugh,

* Antiqua comœdia ſinceram illam ſermonis Attici gratiam prope ſola retinet. *Quintil.*

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laugh, at the expence of decency and good manners*. And in this case it may well be said, that it were better to have no wit at all, than to make so ill an use of it †. Mr. Brumoi is very much to be commended for his having taken care, in giving a general idea of Aristophanes's writings, to throw a veil over those parts of them, that might have given offence to modesty. Though such behaviour be the indispensable rule of religion, it is not always observed by those who pique themselves most on their erudition, and sometimes prefer the title of Scholar to that of Christian.

The ancient comedy subsisted till Lyfander's time, who, upon having made himself master of Athens, changed the form of the government, and put it into the hands of thirty of the principal citizens. The satyrical liberty of the theatre was offensive to them, and therefore they thought fit to put a stop to it. The reason of this alteration is evident, and makes good the reflection made before upon the privilege of the poets, to criticise with impunity upon the persons at the head of the estate. The whole authority of Athens was then invested in tyrants. The democracy was abolished. The people had no longer any share in the government. They were no more the prince; their sovereignty had expired. The right of giving their opinions and suffrages upon affairs of state was at an end; nor dared they either in their own persons or by the poets, presume to censure the sentiments and conduct of their masters. The calling persons by their names upon the stage was prohibited: But the poetical spirit soon found the secret to elude the intention of the law, and to make itself amends for the restraint it suffered in the necessity of using feigned names. It then applied to the discovery of the ridicule in known characters, which it copied to the life, and from thence acquired the double advantage of gratifying the vanity of the poets, and the malice of the audience, in a more refined manner: The

* Nimum risus pretium est, si prohibitis impendio constat. *Quintil.* lib. vi. c. iii.

+ Non pejus duxerim tardi ingenii esse quam mali. *Quintil.* lib. i. c. 3.

The one had the delicate pleasure of putting the spectators upon guessing their meaning, and the other of not being mistaken in their suppositions, and of affixing the right name to the characters represented. Such was the comedy, since called the *Middle Comedy*, of which there are some instances in Aristophanes.

It continued till the time of Alexander the Great, who, having entirely assured himself of the empire of Greece by the defeat of the Thebans, occasioned the putting a check upon the licence of the poets, which increased daily. From thence the *New Comedy* took its birth which was only an imitation of private life, and brought nothing upon the stage with feigned names and supposititious adventures.

(b) Chacun peint avec art dans ce nouveau miroir
S'y vit avec plaisir, ou crut ne s'y pas voir.
L'avare des premiers rit du tableau fidele
D'un avare souvent tracé sur son modele;
Et mille fois un fat, finement exprimé.
Meconnut le portrait sur lui-meme formé.

*In this new glass, whilst each himself survey'd,
He sat with pleasure, tho' himself was play'd:
The miser grinn'd whilst avarice was drawn,
Nor thought the faithful likeness was his own;
His own dear self no imagin'd fool could find.
But saw a thousand other fops design'd.*

This may properly be called fine comedy, and is that of Menander. Of one hundred and eighty, or rather eighty, according to Suidas, composed by him, all of which Terence is said to have translated, there remains only a few fragments. The merit of the originals may be judged from the excellence of their copy. Quintilian, in speaking of Menander, is not afraid to say, that with the beauty of his works, and the height of his reputation, he obscured, or rather obliterated, the fame of all the writers

(b) Boileau Art. Poet. Cant. iii,

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writers in the same way. He observes in another passage, that his own times were not so * just to his merit as they ought to have been, which has been the fate of many others; but that he was sufficiently made amends by the favourable opinion of posterity. And indeed Philemon, a comick poet of the same age, though prior to him, was preferred before him.

The Theatre of the Ancients described..

I HAVE already observed, that Æschylus was the first founder of a fixed and durable theatre adorned with suitable decorations. It was at first, as well as the amphitheatres, composed of wooden planks: but those breaking down, by having too great a weight upon them, the Athenians, excessively enamoured of dramatick representations, were induced by that accident to erect those superb structures, which were imitated afterwards with so much splendor by the Roman magnificence. What I shall say of them, has almost as much relation to the Roman, as the Athenian theatres; and is extracted entirely from Mr. Boindin's learned dissertation upon the theatre of the ancients (c), who has treated the subject in all its extent.

The theatre of the ancients was divided into three principal parts; each of which had its peculiar appellation. The division for the actors was called in general the scene, or stage; that for the spectators was particularly termed the theatre, which must have been of vast extent (d), as at Athens it was capable of containing above thirty thousand persons; and the orchestra, which amongst the Greeks was the place assigned for the pantomimes and dancers, though at Rome it was appropriated to the senators and vestal virgins.

The theatre was of a semicircular form on one side, and square on the other. The space contained within the

(c) *Memoirs of the Acad. of Inscript. &c.* Vol. I. p. 136, &c.

(d) Strab. l. ix. p. 393. Herod. l. viii. c. 65.

* Quidam, sicut Menander, ætatis, judicia sunt consecuti. postiora posterorum, quam suæ Quintil. lib. iii. c. 6.

the semicircle, was allotted to the spectators, and had seats placed one above another to the top of the building. The square part, in the front of it, was the actors division; and in the interval, between both, was the orchestra.

The great theatres had three rows of porticoes, raised one upon another, which formed the body of the edifice, and at the same time three different stories for the seats. From the highest of those porticoes the women saw the representation, covered from the weather. The rest of the theatre was uncovered, and all the business of the stage was performed in the open air.

Each of these stories consisted of nine rows of seats, including the landing-place, which divided them from each other, and served as a passage from side to side. But as this landing-place and passage took up the space of two benches, there were only seven to sit upon, and consequently in each story there were seven rows of seats. They were from fifteen to eighteen inches in height, and twice as much in breadth; so that the spectators had room to sit with their legs extended, and without being incommoded by those of the people above them, no foot-boards being provided for them.

Each of these stories of benches were divided in two different manners; in their height by the landing-places, called by the Romans *Præcinctiones*, and in their circumferences by several stair-cases, peculiar to each story, which intersecting them in right lines, tending towards the center of the theatre, gave the form of wedges to the quantity of seats between them, from whence they were called *Cunei*.

Behind these stories of seats were covered galleries, through which the people thronged into the theatre by great square openings, contrived for that purpose in the walls next the seats. Those openings were called *Vomitoria*, from the multitude of the people crowding through them into their places.

As the actors could not be heard to the extremity of the theatre, the Greeks contrived a means to supply that defect,

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fect, and to augment the force of the voice, and make it more distinct and articulate. For that purpose they invented a kind of large vessels of copper, which were disposed under the seats of the theatre, in such a manner, as made all sounds strike upon the ear with more force and distinction.

The orchestra being situated, as I have observed, between the two other parts of the theatre, of which one was circular, and the other square, it participated of the form of each, and occupied the space between both. It was divided into three parts.

The first and most considerable was more particularly called the orchestra, from a Greek word (*e*) that signifies to dance. It was appropriated to the pantomimes and dancers, and to all such subaltern actors as played between the acts, and at the end of the representations.

The second was named *θυμέλη*, from its being square, in the form of an altar. Here the chorus was generally placed.

And in the third the Greeks generally bestowed their symphony, or band of musick. They callad it *ὑποσκήνιον*, from its being situate at the principal part of the bottom of the theatre, which they stiled the scenes.

I shall describe here this third part of the theatre, called the scenes; which was also subdivided into three different parts.

The first and most considerable was properly called the scenes, and gave name to this whole division. It occupied the whole front of the building from side to side, and was the place allotted for the decorations. This front had two small wings at its extremity, from which hung a large curtain, that was let down to open the scene, and drawn up between the acts, when any thing in the representation made it necessary.

The second, called by the Greeks indifferently *προσκήνιον*, and *λοῦεϊον*, and by the Romans *Proscenium*, and *Pulpitum*, was a large open space in front of the scene, in which the actors performed their parts, and which

(*e*) ὄρχεσθαι.

which, by the help of the decorations, represented either the publick place or forum, a common street, or the country; but the place so represented was always in the open air.

The third division was a part reserved behind the scenes, and called by the Greeks *παρὰσκήνιον*. Here the actors dressed themselves, and the decorations were locked up. In the same place were also kept the machines, of which the ancients had abundance in their theatres.

As only the porticoes and the building of the scene were roofed, it was necessary to draw sails, fastened with cords to masts, over the rest of the theatre, to screen the audience from the heat of the sun. But as this contrivance did not prevent the heat, occasioned by the perspiration and breath of so numerous an assembly, the ancients took care to allay it by a kind of rain; conveying the water for that use above the porticoes, which falling again in form of dew through an infinity of small pores concealed in the statues, with which the theatre abounded, did not only diffuse a grateful coolness all around, but the most fragrant exhalations along with it; for this dew was always perfumed. Whenever the representations were interrupted by storms, the spectators retired into the porticoes behind the seats of the theatre.

The passion of the Athenians for representations of this kind is not conceivable. Their eyes, their ears, their imagination, their understanding, all shared in the satisfaction. Nothing gave them so sensible a pleasure in dramattick performances, either tragick or comick, as the strokes which were aimed at the affairs of the publick; whether pure chance occasioned the application, or the address of the poets, who knew how to reconcile the most remote subjects with the transactions of the republick. They entered by that means into the interest of the people, took occasion to sooth their passions, authorize their pretensions, justify, and sometimes condemn, their conduct, entertain them with agreeable hopes, instruct them in their duty in certain nice conjectures; in effect of

which

which they often not only acquired the applauses of the spectators, but credit and influence in the publick affairs and counsels: Hence the theatre became so grateful, and so much the concern of the people. It was in this manner according to some authors, that Euripides artfully reconciled his tragedy of * Palamedes with the sentence passed against Socrates, and explained, by an illustrious example of antiquity, the innocence of a philosopher, oppressed by a vile malignity supported against him by power and faction.

Accident was often the occasion of sudden and unforeseen applications, which from their appositeness were very agreeable to the people. Upon this verse of Æschylus in praise of Amphiaraus.

*'Tis his desire
Not to appear, but be the great and good,*

the whole audience rose up, and unanimously applied it to Aristides (f). The same thing happened to Philopœmen at the Nemæan games. At the instant he entered the theatre, these verses were singing upon the stage:

*He comes, to whom we owe
Our liberty, the noblest good below.*

All the Greeks cast their eyes upon Philopœmen (g), and with clapping of hands, and acclamations of joy, expressed their veneration for the hero.

(h) In the same manner at Rome, during the banishment of Cicero, when some verses of † Accius, which reproached the Greeks with their ingratitude in suffering the banishment of Telamon, were repeated by Æsop,

(f) Plut. in Aristid. p. 320.

(g) Plut. in Philopœm. p. 362.

(h) Cic. in Orat. pro Sext. n. 120, 123.

* It is not certain whether this piece was prior or posterior to the death of Socrates.

† O ingratiſci Argivi, inanes Graii, immemores beneficii,
Exulare ſiviſtis, ſiviſtis pelli, pulſum patimini.

the best actor of his time, they drew tears from the eyes of the whole assembly.

Upon another, though very different, occasion, the Roman people applied to Pompey the Great some verses to this effect,

(i) *'Tis our unhappiness has made thee great ;*

and then addressing to the people,

*The time shall come when you shall late deplore
So great a power confided to such hands ;*

the spectators obliged the actor to repeat these verses several times,

Passion for the representations of the Theatre, one of the principal causes of the degeneracy and corruption of the Athenian state.

WHEN we compare the happy times of Greece, in which Europe and Asia resounded with nothing but the fame of the Athenian victories, with the later ages, when the power of Philip and Alexander the Great had in a manner subjected it, we shall be surprized at the strange alteration in the affairs of that republick. But what is most material, is the knowledge of the causes and progress of this declension; and these M. de Turreil has discussed in an admirable manner in the preface to his translation of Demosthenes's orations.

There was no longer at Athens any traces of that manly and vigorous policy, equally capable of planning good, and retrieving bad success. Instead of that, there remained only an inconsistent loftiness, apt to evaporate in pompous decrees. They were no more those Athenians, who, when menaced by a deluge of Barbarians, demolished their houses to build ships with the timber, and whose women stoned the abject wretch to death,

who

(i) Cic. ad Attic. l. ii. Epist. 19. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 2.

who proposed to appease the grand monarch by tribute or homage. The love of ease and pleasure had almost entirely extinguished that of glory, liberty, and independence.

Pericles, that great man, so absolute, that those who envied him treated him as a second Pisistratus, was the first author of this degeneracy and corruption. With the design of conciliating the favour of the people, he ordained, that upon such days as games or sacrifices were celebrated, a certain number of oboli should be distributed amongst them; and that in the assemblies, in which affairs of state were to be transacted, every individual should receive a certain pecuniary gratification in right of presence. Thus the members of the republick were seen for the first time to sell their care in the administration of the government, and to rank amongst servile employments the most noble functions of the sovereign power.

It was not difficult to foresee where so excessive an abuse would end; and to remedy it, it was proposed to establish a fund for the support of a war, and to make it capital to advise, upon any account whatsoever, the application of it to other uses: But, notwithstanding, the abuse always subsisted. At first it seemed tolerable, whilst the citizen, who was supported at the publick expence, endeavoured to deserve its liberality by doing his duty in the field for nine months together. Every one was to serve in his turn, and whoever failed was treated as a deserter without distinction: But at length the number of the transgressors carried it against the law; and impunity, as it commonly happens, multiplied their number. People accustomed to the delightful abode of a city, where feasts and games ran in a perpetual circle, conceived an invincible repugnance for labour and fatigue, which they looked upon as unworthy of free-born men.

It was therefore necessary to find amusement for this indolent people, to fill up the great void of an inactive, useless life. Hence arose principally their passion, or

rather frenzy, for publick shows. The death of Epaminondas, which seemed to promise them the greatest advantage, gave the final stroke to their ruin and destruction. "Their courage," says Justin (*k*), "did not survive that illustrious Theban. Free from a rival, who kept their emulation alive, they sunk into a lethargick sloth and effeminacy. The funds for armaments by land and sea were soon lavished upon games and feasts. The seaman's and soldier's pay was distributed to the idle citizen, enervated in soft luxurious habits of life. The representations of the theatre were preferred to the exercises of the camp. Valour and military knowledge were entirely disregarded. Great captains were in no estimation; whilst good poets and excellent comedians engrossed the universal applause."

Extravagance of this kind makes it easy to comprehend in what multitudes the people thronged to the dramatick performances. As no expence was spared in embellishing them, exorbitant sums were sunk in the service of the theatre. "If," says Plutarch (*l*), "what each representation of the dramatick pieces cost the Athenians were rightly calculated, it would appear, that their expences in playing the Bacchanalians, the Phœnicians, *Œdipus*, *Antigone*, *Medea*, and *Electra* (tragedies written either by Sophocles or Euripides) were greater than those which had been employed against the Barbarians in defence of the liberty, and for the preservation of Greece." (*m*) This gave a Spartan just reason to cry out on seeing an estimate of the enormous sums laid out in the disputes of the tragick poets, and the extraordinary pains taken by the magistrates who presided in them, "That a people must be void of sense to apply themselves in so warm and serious a manner to things so frivolous. For (added he) games should be only games; and nothing is more unreasonable than to purchase a short and trivial amusement at so great a price. Pleasures of this kind

"agree

(*k*) Justin. l. vi. c. 9.

(*l*) Plut de glor. Athen. p. 394.

(*m*) Plut. Sympos. l. vii. quest. vii. p. 720.

"agree only with publick rejoicings and seasons of
 "festivity, and were designed to divert people at their
 "leisure hours; but should by no means interfere with
 "the affairs of the publick, nor the necessary expences
 "of the government."

"After all," says Plutarch, in a passage which I have
 already cited, "of what utility have these tragedies been
 "to Athens, though so much boasted by the people,
 "and admired by the rest of the world? We find, that
 "the prudence of Themistocles enclosed the city with
 "strong walls; that the fine taste and magnificence of
 "Pericles improved and adorned it; that the noble forti-
 "tude of Miltiades preserved its liberty; and that the
 "moderate conduct of Cimon acquired it the empire
 "and government of all Greece." If the wise and
 learned poetry of Euripides, the sublime diction of
 Sophocles, the lofty buskin of Æschylus, have obtained
 equal advantages for the city of Athens, by delivering it
 from impending calamities, or by adding to its glory, I
 consent (in Plutarch's words) that "dramatick pieces
 "should be ranked with trophies of victory, the poetick
 "pieces with the fields of battle, and the compositions of
 "the poets with the great exploits of the generals." But
 what a comparison would this be? On the one
 side would be seen a few writers, crowned with wreaths
 of ivy, and dragging a goat or an ox after them, the re-
 wards and victims assigned them for excelling in tragick
 poetry: on the other, a train of illustrious captains, sur-
 rounded with colonies founded, cities taken, and nations
 subjected by their wisdom and valour. It is not to per-
 petuate the victories of Æschylus and Sophocles, but in
 remembrance of the glorious battles of Marathon, Sala-
 min, Eurymedon, and many others, that several feasts
 are celebrated every month by the Grecians.

The conclusion of Plutarch from hence, in which we
 ought to agree with him, is, that it was the highest im-
 prudence in the * Athenians to prefer pleasure to duty,

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* Αμαρτανυσιν Ἀθηναῖοι μεγάλα, δαπάνας ἢ ἐργασμάτων ἐφόδια κα-
 τὰ σπουδὴν εἰς τὴν παιδείαν κατανα- λαχόμενοι, εἰς τὸ θεῖον
 ἄνευ, τυτέσι, μεγάλων ἀποσβάνων

the passion for the theatre to the love of their country, trivial representations to the application to publick business, and to consume, in useless expences and dramattick entertainments, the funds intended for the support of fleets and armies. Macedon, till then obscure and inconsiderable, well knew how to take advantage of the * Athenian indolence and effeminacy; and Philip, instructed by the Greeks themselves, among whom he had for several years applied himself successfully to the art of war, was not long before he gave Greece a master, and subjected it to the yoke, as we shall see in the sequel.

I am now to open an entirely new scene to the reader's view, not unworthy his curiosity and attention. We shall see two states of no great consideration, Media and Persia, extend themselves far and wide, under the conduct of Cyrus, like a torrent of devouring fire, and by amazing rapidity conquer and subdue many provinces and kingdoms. We shall see that vast empire setting the nations under its dominion in motion, the Persians, Medes, Phœnicians, Egyptians, Babylonians, Indians, and many others, and falling with all the forces of Asia and the East upon a little country, of very small extent, and destitute of all foreign assistance; I mean Greece. When, on the one hand, we behold so many nations united together, such preparations of war made for several years with so much diligence; innumerable armies by sea and land, and such fleets as the sea could hardly contain; and, on the other hand, two weak cities, Athens and Lacedæmon, abandoned by all their allies, and left almost entirely to themselves; have we not reason to believe, that these two little cities are going to be utterly destroyed and swallowed up by so formidable an enemy; and that there will not be so much as any footsteps of them left remaining? And yet we shall find that they prove victorious; and by their invincible courage, and the

* Quibus rebus effectum est, ut inter otia Græcorum, sordidum & obscurum antea Macedonum nomen emergeret; & Philippus, obses triennio Thebis habitus,

Epaminondæ & Pelopidæ virtutibus eruditus, regnum Macedonia Græcæ & Asiæ cervicibus; velut jugum servitutis, imponeret. *Æt.* l. vi. c. 9.

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the several battles they gained, both by sea and land, made the Persian empire lay aside all thoughts of ever turning their arms against Greece any more.

The history of the war between the Persians and the Greeks, will illustrate the truth of this maxim. That it is not the number, but the valour of the troops, and the conduct of the generals, on which depend the success of military expeditions. The reader will admire the surprising courage and intrepidity of the great men at the head of the Grecian affairs, whom neither all the world in motion against them could deject, nor the greatest of misfortunes disconcert; who undertook, with an handful of men, to make head against innumerable armies; who notwithstanding such a prodigious inequality of forces, durst hope for success; who even compelled victory to declare on the side of merit and virtue; and taught all succeeding generations what infinite resources and expedients are to be found in prudence, valour, and experience; in a zeal for liberty and our country; in the love of our duty; and in all the sentiments of noble and generous souls.

This war of the Persians against the Grecians will be followed by another amongst the Greeks themselves, but of a very different kind from the former. In the latter, there will scarce be any actions, but what in appearance are of little consequence, and seemingly unworthy of a reader's curiosity, who is fond of great events: In this he will meet with little besides private quarrels between certain cities, or some small commonwealths; some inconsiderable sieges, (excepting that of Syracuse, one of the most important related in ancient history) though several of these sieges were of considerable duration; some battles between armies, where the numbers were small, and but little blood shed. What is it then, that has rendered these wars so famous in history? Sallust informs us in these words; “ * The actions of the Athe-

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“ nians

* Atheniensium res gestæ, si minores tamen, quam fama feruntur. Sed quia provenere ibi scriptorum siveque fuerent: verum aliquanto, magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheni-

“nians doubtless were great, and yet I believe they
 “were somewhat less than fame is for having us to con-
 “ceive of them. But because Athens had noble writers,
 “the acts of that republick are celebrated throughout the
 “whole world as the most glorious; and the gallantry
 “of those heroes who performed them, has had the good
 “fortune to be thought as transcendent as the eloquence
 “of those who have described them.”

Sallust, though jealous enough of the glory the Romans had acquired by a series of distinguished actions, with which their history abounds; yet he does justice in this passage to the Grecians, by acknowledging, that their exploits were truly great and illustrious, though somewhat inferior, in his opinion, to their fame. What is then this foreign and borrowed lustre, which the Athenian actions have derived from the eloquence of their historians? It is, that the whole universe agrees in looking upon them as the greatest and most glorious that ever were performed. *Per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maximis celebrantur.* All nations, seduced and enchanted as it were with the beauties of the Greek authors, think that people's exploits superior to any thing that was ever done by any other nation. This, according to Sallust, is the service the Greek authors have done the Athenians, by their excellent manner of describing their actions; and very unhappy it is for us, that our history, for want of the like assistance, has left a thousand bright actions and fine sayings unrecorded, which would have been put in the strongest light by the ancient writers, and have done great honour to our country.

But, however this be, it must be confessed, that we are not always to judge of the value of an action, or the merit of the persons who had shared in it, by the importance of the event. It is rather in such little sieges and engagements, as we find recorded in the history of the Peloponnesian war, that the conduct and abilities of a general are truly conspicuous. Accordingly, it is ob-

served,

Atheniensium facta pro maximis celebrantur. Itaeorum, quæ fecere, virtus tanta habetur, quantum eam verbis

potuere extollere præclara ingenia. Sallust. in bell. Catilin.

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served, that it was chiefly at the head of small armies, and in countries of no great extent, that our best generals of the last age distinguished their capacity, and behaved with a conduct not inferior to the most celebrated captains of antiquity. In actions of this sort, chance has no share, and does not cover any oversights that are committed. Every thing is conducted and carried on by the prudence of the general. He is truly the soul of the army, which neither acts nor moves, but by his direction. He sees every thing, and is present every where. Nothing escapes his vigilance and attention. Orders are seasonably given, and seasonably executed. Finesse, stratagems, false marches, real or feigned attacks, encampments, decampments, in a word, every thing depends upon him alone.

On this account the reading of the Greek historians, such as Thucydides, Xenophon, and Polybius, is of infinite service to young officers; because those historians, who were also excellent commanders, enter into all the particulars of the military art, and lead the readers, as it were by the hand, through all the sieges and battles they describe; showing them, by the example of the greatest generals of antiquity, and by a kind of anticipated experience, in what manner war is to be carried on.

Nor is it only with regard to military exploits, that the Grecian history affords us such excellent models. We shall there find celebrated legislators, able politicians, magistrates born for government, men who have excelled in all arts and sciences, philosophers who carried their enquiries as far as was possible in those early ages, and who have left us such maxims of morality, as many Christians ought to blush at.

If the virtues related in history may serve us for models in the conduct of our lives; their vices and failings, on the other hand, are no less proper to caution and instruct us; and the strict regard, which an historian is obliged to have for truth, will not allow him to dissemble the latter, out of fear of eclipsing the lustre of the former. Nor does what I here advance contradict the rule laid down

by Plutarch (*n*), on the same subject, in his preface to the life of Cimon. He requires that the illustrious actions of great men be represented in their full light: but as to the faults, which may sometimes escape them through passion or surprise, or into which they may be drawn by the necessity of affairs, * considering them rather as a certain degree of perfection wanting to their virtue, than as vices or crimes, that proceed from any corruption of the heart; such imperfections as these, he would have the historian, out of compassion to the weakness of human nature, which produces nothing entirely perfect, content himself with touching very lightly; in the same manner as an able painter, when he has a fine face to draw, in which he finds some little blemish or defect, does neither entirely suppress it, nor thinks himself obliged to represent it with a strict exactness; because the one would spoil the beauty of the picture, and the other would destroy the likeness. The very comparison Plutarch uses, shows, that he speaks only of slight and excusable faults. But as to actions of injustice, violence, and brutality, they ought not to be concealed, or disguised on any account; nor can we suppose, that the same privilege should be allowed in history as is in painting, which invented the † profile to represent the side-face of a prince who had lost an eye, and by that means ingeniously concealed so disagreeable a deformity. History, the most essential rule of which is sincerity, will by no means admit of such indulgences, that indeed would deprive it of its greatest advantage.

Shame, reproach, infamy, hatred, and the execrations of the publick, which are the inseparable attendants on criminal and brutal actions, are no less proper to excite an horror for vice; than the glory, which perpetually attends good actions, is to inspire us with the love of virtue.

(*n*) In Cim. p. 479, 480.

* Ελλείμματα μάλλον ἀνεγείναι τῆς ἢ κακίας πενήτειμματα.

† Habet in pictura speciem tota stendit, ut amissi oculi deformitas facies. Apelles tamen imaginem lateret. *Quintil.* l. ii. c. 13. Antigoni latere tantum altero o-

ture. And these, according to Tacitus*, are the two ends, which every historian ought to propose to himself, by making a judicious choice of what is most extraordinary both in good and evil, in order to occasion that publick homage to be paid to virtue, which is justly due to it; and to create a greater abhorrence for vice, on account of that eternal infamy that attends it.

The history I write furnishes too many examples of the latter sort. With respect to the Persians, it will appear by what is said of their kings, that those Princes, whose power has no other bounds but those of their will, often abandon themselves to all their passions; that nothing is more difficult than to resist the delusions of a man's own greatness, and the flatteries of those that surround him; that the liberty of gratifying all one's desires, and of doing evil with impunity, is a dangerous situation; that the best dispositions can hardly withstand such a temptation; that, even after having preserved themselves in the beginning, they are insensibly corrupted by softness and effeminacy, by pride, and their aversion to sincere counsels; and that it rarely happens they are wise enough to consider that, when they find themselves exalted above all laws and restraints, they stand then most in need of moderation and wisdom, both in regard to themselves and others; and that in such a situation they ought to be doubly wise, and doubly strong, in order to set bounds within, by their reason, to a power that has none without.

With respect to the Grecians, the Peloponnesian war will shew the miserable effects of their intestine divisions, and the fatal excesses into which they were led by their thirst of dominion: scenes of injustice, ingratitude, and perfidy, together with the open violation of treaties, or mean artifices and unworthy tricks to elude their execution. It will shew, how scandalously the Lacedæmonians

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* Exequi sententias haud institui, nisi insignes per honestum aut notabili dedecore: quod præcipuum munus æqualium reor ne virtutes fideantur,

utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate & infamia metus sit. *Tacit. Annal. l. iii. c. 65.*

ans and Athenians debased themselves to the Barbarians, in order to beg aids of money from them: how shamefully the great deliverers of Greece renounced the glory of all their past labours and exploits, by stooping and making their court to certain haughty and insolent satrapæ, and by going successively, with a kind of emulation, to implore the protection of the common enemy, whom they had so often conquered; and in what manner they employed the succours they obtained from them, in oppressing their ancient allies, and extending their own territories by unjust and violent methods.

On both sides, and sometimes in the same person, we shall find a surprizing mixture of good and bad, of virtues and vices, of glorious actions and mean sentiments; and sometimes, perhaps, we shall be ready to ask ourselves, whether these can be the same persons and the same people, of whom such different things are related; and whether it be possible that such a bright and shining light, and such thick clouds of smোক and darkness, can proceed from the same fund? I relate things as I find them in antient authors, and the pictures I present the reader with are always drawn after those original monuments which history has transmitted to us, concerning the persons I speak of; and I might likewise add, after human nature itself. But in my opinion even this medley of good and evil may be of great advantage to us, and serve as a preservative against a danger sufficiently common and natural.

For if we found, either in any nation or particular persons, a probity and nobleness of sentiments always uniform and free from all blemish and weakness, we should be tempted to believe that heathenism is capable of producing real and perfect virtues; though our religion teaches us, that those virtues we most admire among the heathens, are really no more than the shadow and appearance of them. But when we see the defects and imperfections, the vices and crimes, and those sometimes of the blackest die, that are intermixed with them, and often very closely follow their most virtuous actions; we

are taught to moderate our esteem and admiration of them, and at the same time that we commend what appears noble, worthy, and great, among the Pagans, not prodigally to pay to the phantom of virtue, that entire and unreserved homage which is only due to virtue itself.

With these restrictions I desire to be understood, when I praise the great men of antiquity, and their illustrious actions, and if, contrary to my intention, any expressions should escape me, which may seem to exceed these bounds, I desire the reader to interpret them candidly, and reduce them to their just value and meaning.

The Persian history includes the space of one hundred and seventeen years, during the reigns of six kings of Persia: Darius, the first of the name, the son of Hytaspes; Xerxes the first; Artaxerxes, surnamed Longimanus; Xerxes the second; Sogdianus; (the two last of which reigned but a very little time;) and Darius the second, commonly called Darius Nothus. This history begins at the year of the world 3483, and extends to the year 3600. As this whole period naturally divides itself into two parts, I shall also divide it into two distinct books.

The first part, which consists of ninety years, contains from the beginning of the reign of Darius the first, to the forty-second year of Artaxerxes, the same year in which the Peloponnesian war began; that is, from the year of the world 3483, to the year 3573. This part chiefly contains the different enterprizes and expeditions of the Persians against Greece, which never produced more great men and great events, nor ever displayed more conspicuous or more solid virtues. Here you will see the famous battles of Marathon, Thermopylæ, Artemisa, Salamin, Platae, Mycale, Eurymedon, &c. Here the most eminent commanders of Greece signalized their courage; Miltiades, Leonidas, Themistocles, Aristides, Cimon, Pausanias, Pericles, Thucydides, &c.

To enable the reader the more easily to recollect what passed within the space of time among the Jews, and also among the Romans, the history of both which nations is entirely foreign to that of the Persians and Greeks,

I shall here set down in few words the principal epochas relating to them.

Epochas of the Jewish history.

THE people of God were at this time returned from their Babalonish captivity to Jerusalem, under the conduct of Zorobabel. Usher is of opinion, that the history of Esther ought to be placed in the reign of Darius. The Israelites, under the shadow of this prince's protection, and animated by the warm exhortations of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, did at last finish the building of the temple, which had been interrupted for many years by the cabals of their enemies. Artaxerxes was no less favourable to the Jews than Darius: he first of all sent Ezra to Jerusalem, who restored the publick worship, and the observation of the law; then Nehemiah, who caused walls to be built round the city, and fortified it against the attacks of their neighbours, who were jealous of its reviving greatness. It is thought that Malachi, the last of the prophets, was contemporary with Nehemiah, or that he prophesied not long after him.

This interval of the sacred history extends from the reign of Darius I. to the beginning of the reign of Darius Nothus; that is to say, from the year of the world 3485, to the year 3581. After which the scripture is entirely silent, till the time of the Maccabees.

Epochas of the Roman history.

THE first year of Darius was the 233d of the building of Rome. Tarquin the Proud was then on the throne, and about ten years afterwards was deposed, when the consular government was substituted to that of the kings. In the succeeding part of this period happened the war against Porsenna; the creation of the tribunes of the people; Coriolanus's retreat among the Volsci, and the war that ensued thereupon; the wars of the Romans against the Latins, the Veientes, the Volsci, and other neighbouring

bouring nations: the death of Virginia under the Decemvirate; the disputes between the people and senate about marriages and the consulship, which occasioned the creating of military tribunes instead of consuls. This period of time terminates in the 323d year from the foundation of Rome.

The second part, which consists of twenty-seven years, extends from the 43d year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, to the death of Darius Nothus; that is, from the year of the world 3573, to the year 3600. It contains the nineteen first years of the Peloponnesian war, which continued twenty-seven, of which Greece and Sicily were the seat, and wherein the Greeks, who had before triumphed over the Barbarians, turned their arms against each other. Among the Athenians, Pericles, Nicias, and Alcibiades; among the Lacedæmonians, Brasidas, Gylippus, and Lyfander, distinguished themselves in the most extraordinary manner.

Rome continues to be agitated by different disputes between the senate and people. Towards the end of this period, and about the 350th year of Rome, the Romans formed the siege of Veji, which lasted ten years.

(q) Eighty years after the taking of Troy, the Heraclides, that is, the descendents of Hercules, returned into the Peloponnesus, and made themselves masters of Lacedæmon, where two of them, who were brothers, Euristhenes and Procles, sons of Aristodemus, reigned jointly together. (r) Herodotus observes, that these two brothers were, during their whole lives at variance; and that almost all their descendents inherited the like disposition of mutual hatred and antipathy; so true it is, that the sovereign power will admit of no partnership, and that two kings will always be too many for one kingdom! However, after the death of these two, the descendants of both still continued to sway the sceptor jointly: and what is very remarkable, these two branches subsisted for near nine hundred years, from the return of the Heraclides into the Peloponnesus, to the death of Cleomenes, and supplied
Sparta

Sparta with kings without interruption, and that generally in a regular succession from father to son, especially in the elder branch of the family.

The Origin and Condition of the Elotæ, or Helots.

WHEN the Lacedæmonians first began to settle in Peloponnesus, they met with great opposition from the inhabitants of the country, whom they were obliged to subdue one after another by force of arms, or receive into their alliance on easy and equitable terms, as the paying them a small tribute. Strabo (s) speaks of a city, called Elos, not far from Sparta, which, after having submitted to the yoke, as others had done, revolted openly, and refused to pay the tribute. Agis, the son of Euristhenes, newly settled in the throne, was sensible of the dangerous tendency of this first revolt, and therefore immediately marched with an army against them, together with Scüs, his colleague. They laid siege to the city, which, after a pretty long resistance, was forced to surrender at discretion. This prince thought it proper to make such an example of them, as should intimidate all their neighbours, and deter them from the like attempts, and yet not alienate their minds by too cruel a treatment; for which reason he put none to death. He spared the lives of all the inhabitants, but at the same time deprived them of their liberty, and reduced them all to a state of slavery. From thenceforward they were employed in all mean and servile offices, and treated with extreme rigour. These were the people who were called Elotæ. The number of them exceedingly increased in process of time, the Lacedæmonians giving undoubtedly the same name to all the people they reduced to the same condition of servitude. As they themselves were averse to labour, and entirely addicted to war, they left the cultivation of their lands to these slaves, assigning every one of them a certain portion of ground, of which they were obliged to carry the products every year to their respective masters, who endeavoured

(s) Lib. viii. p. 365. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 40.

voured by all sorts of ill usage to make their yoke more grievous and insupportable. This was certainly very bad policy, and could only tend to breed a vast number of dangerous enemies in the very heart of the state, who were always ready to take arms and revolt on every occasion. The Romans acted more prudently in this respect; for they incorporated the conquered nations into their state, by associating them into the freedom of their city, and thereby converted them, from enemies, into brethren and fellow-citizens.

LYCURGUS, the Lacedæmonian law-giver.

(1) EURYTION, or Eurypon, as he is named by others, succeeded Soüs. In order to gain his people's affection, and render his government agreeable, he thought fit to recede in some points, from the absolute power exercised by the kings his predecessors: this rendered his name so dear to his subjects, that all his successors were, from him, called Eurytionides. But this relaxation gave birth to horrible confusion, and an unbounded licentiousness in Sparta, and for a long time occasioned infinite mischiefs. The people became so insolent, that nothing could restrain them. If Eurytion's successors attempted to recover their authority by force, they became odious; and if through complaisance or weakness, they chose to dissemble, their mildness served only to render them contemptible; so that order was in a manner abolished, and the laws no longer regarded. These confusions hastened the death of Lycurgus's father, whose name was Eunomus, and who was killed in an insurrection. Polydectes, his eldest son and successor, dying soon after without children, every body expected Lycurgus would have been king. And indeed he was so in effect, as long as the pregnancy of his brother's wife was uncertain; but as soon as that was manifest, he declared, that the kingdom belonged to her child, in case it proved a son: and from that moment he administered the government, as guardian
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(1) Plut. in Lycurg. p. 40.

to his unborn nephew, under the title of Prodicos, which was the name given by the Lacedæmonians to the guardians of their kings. When the child was born, Lycurgus took him in his arms, and cried out to the company that were present, *Behold, my Lords of Sparta, this new-born child is your king*: and at the same time he put the infant into the king's seat, and named him Charilaus, because of the joy the people expressed upon occasion of his birth. The reader will find, in the second volume of this history, all that relates to the history of Lycurgus, the reformation he made, and the excellent laws he established in Sparta. Agésilas was at this time king in the elder branch of the family.

War between the Argives and the Lacedæmonians.

(u) SOME time after this, in the reign of Theopompus, a war broke out between the Argives and Lacedæmonians, on account of a little country, called Thyrea, that lay upon the confines of the two states, and to which each of them pretended a right. When the two armies were ready to engage, it was agreed on both sides, in order to spare the effusion of blood, that the quarrel should be decided by three hundred of the bravest men on both sides; and that the land in question should become the property of the victorious party. To leave the combatants more room to engage, the two armies retired to some distance. Those generous champions then, who had all the courage of two mighty armies, boldly advanced towards each other, and fought with so much resolution and fury, that the whole number, except three men, two on the side of the Argives, and one on that of the Lacedæmonians, lay dead upon the spot; and only the night parted them. The two Argives looking upon themselves as the conquerors, made what halt they could to Argos to carry the news: the single Lacedæmonian, Othryades by name, instead of retiring stripped the dead bodies of the Argives, and carrying

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(u) Herod. l. i. c. 12.

their arms into the Lacedæmonian camp, continued in his post. The next day the two armies returned to the field of battle. Both sides laid equal claim to the victory: the Argives, because they had more of their champions left alive than the enemy had; the Lacedæmonians, because the two Argives that remained alive had fled; whereas their single soldier had remained master of the field of battle, and had carried off the spoils of the enemy: In short, they could not determine the dispute without coming to another engagement. Here fortune declared in favour of the Lacedæmonians, and the little territory of Thyrea was the prize of their victory. But Othryades, not able to bear the thoughts of surviving his brave companions, or of enduring the sight of Sparta after their death, killed himself on the same field of battle where they had fought, resolving to have one fate and tomb with them.

Wars between the Messenians and Lacedæmonians.

THERE were no less than three several wars between the Messenians and the Lacedæmonians, all of them very fierce and bloody. Messenia was a country in Peloponnesus, not far westward from Sparta; it was of considerable strength, and had its own particular kings.

The first Messenian war.

(x) THE first Messenian war lasted twenty years, and broke out the second year of the ninth Olympiad. The Lacedæmonians pretended to have received several considerable injuries from the Messenians, and among others, that of having had their daughters ravished by the inhabitants of Messenia, when they went, according to custom, to a temple, that stood on the borders of the two nations: as also that of the murder of Telecles, their king, which was a consequence of the former. Probably a desire of extending

(x) A. M. 3261. Ant. J. C. 743. Pausan. l. iv. p. 216--240. Justin. l. iii. c. 4.

extending their dominion, and of seizing a territory which lay so convenient for them, might be the true cause of the war. But be that as it will, the war broke out in the reign of Polydorus and Theopompus, kings of Sparta, at the time when the office of archon at Athens was still decennial.

(y) Euphaes, the thirteenth descendant from Hercules, was then king of Messenia. He gave the command of his army to Cleonnis. The Lacedæmonians opened the campaign with the siege of Amphea, a small inconsiderable city, which however, they thought, would be very proper to make a place of arms. The town was taken by storm, and all the inhabitants put to the sword. The first blow served only to animate the Messenians, by showing them what they were to expect from the enemy, if they did not defend themselves with vigour. The Lacedæmonians, on their part, bound themselves by an oath, not to lay down their arms, or [return to Sparta, till they had made themselves masters of all the cities and lands belonging to the Messenians; such an assurance had they of the success of their arms, and of their invincible courage.

(z) Two battles were fought, wherein the loss was pretty equal on both sides. But after the second, the Messenians suffered extremely through the want of provisions, which occasioned a great desertion in their troops, and at last brought the plague among them.

Hereupon they consulted the oracle of Delphos, which directed them, in order to appease the wrath of the gods, to offer up a virgin of the royal blood in sacrifice. Aristomenes, who was of the race of the Epytides, offered his own daughter. The Messenians then considering, that if they left garrisons in all their towns, they should extremely weaken their army, resolved to abandon all their towns, except Ithoma, a little place seated on the top of a hill of the same name, about which they encamped and fortified themselves. In this situation were seven years spent, during which nothing passed but slight

skirmishes

(y) Pausan. l. iv. p. 223—226.

(z) Ibid. p. 227—234.

skirmishes on both sides, the Lacedæmonians, not daring in all that time to force the enemy to a battle.

Indeed, they almost despaired of being able to reduce them; nor was there any thing but the obligation of the oath, by which they had bound themselves, that made them continue so burthensome a war. (a) What gave them the greatest uneasiness, was, their apprehension, lest their absence and distance from their wives for so many years, and which might still continue many more, should destroy their families at home, and leave Sparta destitute of citizens. To prevent this misfortune, they sent home such of their soldiers as were come to the army since the forementioned oath had been taken, and made no scruple of prostituting their wives to their embraces. The children that sprung from these unlawful copulations, were called Partheniataë, a name given to them to denote the infamy of their birth. As soon as they were grown up, not being able to endure such an opprobrious distinction, they banished themselves from Sparta, with one consent, and, under the conduct of *Phalanthus, went and settled at Tarentum in Italy, after driving out the ancient inhabitants.

(b) At last, in the eighth year of the war, which was the thirteenth of Euphaes's reign, a fierce and bloody battle was fought near Ithoma. Euphaes pierced through the battalions of Theopompus with too much heat and precipitation for a king. He there received a multitude of wounds, several of which were mortal. He fell, and seemed to give up the ghost. Whereupon wonderful efforts of courage were exerted on both sides; by the one, to carry off the king; by the other, to save him. Cleonnis killed eight Spartans, who were dragging him along, and spoiled them of their arms, which he committed to the custody of some of his soldiers. He himself received several wounds all in the fore part of his body, which was a certain proof, that he had never turned his back upon his enemies. Aristomenes, fighting

(a) Diod. l. xv. p. 778.

(b) Pausan. l. iv. p. 234, 235. Diod. in Frag.

* Et regnata petam Laconi rura Phalanta.

Hor. Od. vi. l. 2.

ing on the same occasion, and for the same end, killed five Lacedæmonians, whose spoils he likewise carried off, without receiving any wound. In short, the king was saved and carried off by the Messenians; and, all mangled and bloody as he was, he expressed great joy that they had not been worsted. Aristomenes, after the battle was over, met Cleonnis, who by reason of his wounds, could neither walk by himself nor with the assistance of those who lent him their hands. He therefore took him upon his shoulders, without quitting his arms, and carried him to the camp.

As soon as they had applied the first dressing to the wounds of the king of Messenia and of his officers, there arose a new combat among the Messenians, that was pursued with as much warmth as the former, but was of a very different kind, and yet the consequence of the other. The affair in question was the adjudging the prize of glory to him, that had signalized his valour most in the late engagement. For it was even then an ancient custom among them, publickly to proclaim, after a battle, the name of the man that had shewed the greatest courage. Nothing could be more proper to animate the officers and soldiers, to inspire them with resolution and intrepidity, and to stifle the natural apprehension of death and danger. Two illustrious champions entered the lists on this occasion, namely, Cleonnis and Aristomenes.

The king, notwithstanding his weak condition, being attended with the principal officers of his army, presided in the council, where this important dispute was to be decided. Each competitor pleaded his own cause. Cleonnis began, and founded his pretensions upon the great number of the enemies he had slain, and upon the multitude of wounds he had received in the action, which were so many undoubted testimonies of the courage with which he had faced both death and danger; whereas, according to him, the condition in which Aristomenes came out of the engagement, without hurt and without wound, seemed to shew

that

that he had been very careful of his own person, or at most, could only prove, that he had been more fortunate than he, but not more brave or courageous. And as to his having carried him on his shoulders into the camp, that action indeed might serve to prove the strength of his body, but nothing further: And the thing in dispute at this time, says he, is not strength but valour.

The only thing Aristomenes was reproached for, was his not being wounded; therefore he confined himself to that point, and answered in the following manner: "I am (says he) called fortunate, because I have escaped from the battle without wounds. If that were owing to my cowardice, I should deserve another epithet than that of fortunate; and instead of being admitted to dispute the prize, ought to undergo the rigour of the laws, that punish cowards. But what is objected to me as a crime, is in truth my greatest glory. For, whether my enemies, astonished at my valour, durst not venture to attack or oppose me, it is no small degree of merit, that I made them fear me; or, that whilst they engaged me, I had at the same time strength to cut them in pieces, and skill to guard against their attacks, I must then have been at once both valiant and prudent. For whoever, in the midst of an engagement, can expose himself to dangers with caution and security, shews, that he excels at the same time both in the virtues of the mind and the body. As for courage, no man living can reproach Cleonnis with any want of it; but for his honour's sake, I am sorry that he should appear to want gratitude."

After the conclusion of these harangues, the question was put to the vote. The whole army is in suspense, and impatiently waits for the decision. No dispute could be so warm and interesting as this. It is not a competition for gold or silver, but solely for honour. The proper reward of virtue is pure disinterested glory. Here the judges are unsuspected. The actions of the competitors still speak for them. It is the king himself, surrounded with his officers, who presides and adjudges.

A whole,

A whole army are the witnesses. The field of battle is a tribunal without partiality and cabal. In short, all the votes concurred in favour of Aristomenes, and adjudged him the prize.

(c) Euphaes, the king, died not many days after the decision of this affair. He had reigned thirteen years, and during all that time been engaged in war with the Lacedæmonians. As he died without children, he left the Messenians at liberty to chuse his successor. Cleonnis and Damis were candidates in opposition to Aristomenes; but he was elected king in preference to them. When he was on the throne, he did not scruple to confer on his two rivals the principal offices of the state: All strongly attached to the publick good, even more than to their own glory, competitors, but not enemies, these great men were actuated by a zeal for their country, and were neither friends nor adversaries to one another, but for its preservation.

In this relation, I have followed the opinion of the late Monsieur * Boivin, the elder, and have made use of his learned dissertation upon a fragment of Diodorus Siculus, which the world was little acquainted with. He supposes, and proves in it, that the king, spoken of in that fragment, is Euphaes; and that Aristomenes is the same that Pausanias calls Aristodemus, according to the custom of the ancients, who were often called by two different names.

Aristomenes, otherwise called Aristodemus, reigned near seven years, and was equally esteemed and beloved by his subjects. (d) The war still continued all this time. Towards the end of his reign he beat the Lacedæmonians, took their king, Theopompus, and, in honour of Jupiter and Ithoma, sacrificed three hundred of them, among whom their king was the principal victim. Shortly after, Aristodemus sacrificed himself upon the tomb of his daughter, in conformity to the

(c) Pausan. l. iv. p. 235, 241.

(d) Clem. Alex. in Protop. p. 20. Euseb. in Præpar. l. iv. c. 16.

* *Mémoires of the Academy of Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 84—115.

answer of an oracle. Damis was his successor, but without taking upon him the title of king.

(e) After his death, the Messenians never had any success in their affairs, but found themselves in a very wretched and hopeless condition. Being reduced to the last extremity, and utterly destitute of provisions, they abandoned Ithoma, and fled to such of their allies as were nearest to them. The city was immediately razed, and all the people that remained submitted. They were made to engage by oath never to forsake the party of the Lacedæmonians, and never to revolt from them: A very useful precaution, only proper to make them add the guilt of perjury to their rebellion. Their new masters imposed no tribute upon them; but contented themselves with obliging them to bring to the Spartan market one half of the corn they should reap every harvest. It was likewise stipulated, that the Messenians, both men and women, should attend, in mourning, the funerals either of the kings, or chief citizens of Sparta; which the Lacedæmonians probably looked upon as a mark of the others dependence, and as a kind of homage paid to their nation. (f) Thus ended the first Messenian war, after having lasted twenty years.

The second Messenian war.

(g) The lenity with which the Lacedæmonians treated the Messenians, at first was of no long duration. When once they found the whole country had submitted, and thought the people incapable of giving them any further trouble, they returned to their natural character of insolence and haughtiness, that often degenerated into cruelty, and and sometimes even into ferocity. Instead of treating the vanquished with kindness, as friends and allies, and endeavouring by gentle methods to win those they had subdued by force, they seemed intent upon nothing but aggravating their yoke, and making them feel the whole

(e) Pausan. l. iv. p. 241—247. (f) A. M. 3281. Ant. J. C. 723.

(g) Ibid. p. 242, 261. Justin. l. iii. c. 5.

weight of subjection. They laid heavy taxes upon them, delivered them up to the avarice of the collectors of those taxes, gave no ear to their complaints, rendered them no justice, treated them like vile slaves, and committed the most crying outrages against them.

Man, who is born for liberty, can never reconcile himself to servitude: The most gentle slavery exasperates, and provokes him to rebel. What could be expected then from so cruel a one, as that the Messenians groaned under? After having endured it with great uneasiness * near forty years, they resolved to throw off the yoke, and to recover their ancient liberty. (*b*) This was in the fourth year of the twenty-third Olympiad: The office of archon at Athens was then made annual; and Anaxander and Anixidamus reigned at Sparta.

The Messenians first care was to strengthen themselves with the alliance of the neighbouring nations. These they found well inclined to enter into their views, as very agreeable to their own interests. For it was not without jealousy and apprehensions, that they saw so powerful a city rising up in the midst of them, which manifestly seemed to aim at extending her dominion over all the rest. The people therefore of Elis, the Argives and Sicyonians, declared for the Messenians. But before their forces were joined, a battle was fought between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians. Aristomenes, † the second of that name, was at the head of the latter. He was a commander of intrepid courage, and of great abilities in war. The Lacedæmonians were beat in this engagement. Aristomenes, to give the enemy at first an advantageous opinion of his bravery, knowing what influence it has on the success of future enterprizes, boldly ventured to enter into Sparta

(*b*) A. M. 3320. Ant. J. C. 684.

* Cum per complures annos gravia servitutis verbera plerumque ac vincula cæteraque captivitatis mala perpessi essent, post longam pœnerum patientiam bellam initaurant. *Justin.* l. iii. c. 5.

† According to several historians, there was another Aristomenes in the first Messenian war. *Diod.* l. xv. p. 378.

Sparta by night, and upon the gate of the temple of Minerva, who was surnamed Chalcioecus, to hang up a shield, on which was an inscription, signifying, that it was a present offered by Aristomenes to the goddess, out of the spoils of the Lacedæmonians.

This bravado did in reality astonish the Lacedæmonians. But they were still more alarmed at the formidable league that was formed against them. The Delphick oracle, which they consulted, in order to know by what means they should be successful in this war, directed them to send to Athens for a commander, and to submit to his counsel and conduct. This was a very mortifying step to so haughty a city as Sparta. But the fear of incurring the god's displeasure by a direct disobedience, prevailed over all other considerations. They sent an embassy therefore to the Athenians. The people of Athens were somewhat perplexed at the request. On the one hand, they were not sorry to see the Lacedæmonians at war with their neighbours, and were far from desiring to furnish them with a good general: On the other, they were afraid also of disobeying the god. To extricate themselves out of this difficulty, they offered the Lacedæmonians a person called Tyrtaeus. He was a poet by profession, and had something original in the turn of his wit, and disagreeable in his person; for he was lame. Notwithstanding these defects, the Lacedæmonians received him as a general, sent them by heaven itself. Their success did not at first answer their expectation, for they lost three battles successively.

The kings of Sparta, discouraged by so many disappointments, and out of all hopes of better success for the future, were entirely bent upon returning to Sparta, and marching home again with their forces. Tyrtaeus opposed this design very warmly, and at length brought them over to his opinion. He spoke to the troops, and repeated to them the verses he had made on the occasion, and on which he had bestowed great pains and application. He first endeavoured to comfort them for their past losses, which he imputed to no fault of theirs, but only to ill

fortune, or to fate, which no human wisdom can surmount. He then represented to them, what a shame it would be for Spartans to fly from an enemy; and how glorious it would be for them rather to perish sword in hand, in fighting for their country, if it was so decreed by fate. Then, as if all danger was vanished, and the gods, fully satisfied and appeased with their late calamities, were entirely turned to their side, he set victory before their eyes as present and certain, and as if she herself were inviting them to battle. (i) All the ancient authors, who have made any mention of the stile and character of Tyrtaeus's poetry, observe, that it was full of a certain fire, ardour, and enthusiasm, that animated the minds of men, that exalted them above themselves, that inspired * them with something generous and martial, that extinguished all fear and apprehension of danger or death, and made them wholly intent upon the preservation of their country and their own glory.

Tyrtaeus's verses had really this effect on the soldiers upon this occasion. They all desired, with one voice, to march against the enemy. Being become indifferent as to their lives, they had no thoughts but to secure themselves the honour of a burial. To this end they all tied strings round their right arms, on which were inscribed their own and their fathers names, that if they chanced to be killed in the battle, and to have their faces so altered through time or accidents, as not to be distinguishable, it might certainly be known who each of them was by these marks. Soldiers determined to die, are very valiant. This appeared in the battle that ensued. It was very bloody, the victory being a long time disputed on both sides; but at last the Messenians gave way. When Tyrtaeus went afterwards to Sparta, he was received with the greatest marks of distinction, and incorporated into the body of citizens.

The gaining of this battle did not put an end to the war, which had already lasted three years. Aristomenes, having

(i) Plat. l. i. de Legib. p. 620. Plut. in Agid. & Cleom. p. 805.

* Tyrtaeusque mares animos in martia bella
Versibus exacuit.

Hor. in Art. Poet.

having assembled the remains of his army, retired to the top of a mountain, of difficult access, which was called Ira. The conquerors attempted to carry the place by assault; but that brave prince defended himself there for the space of eleven years, and performed the most extraordinary actions of bravery. He was at last obliged to quit it, only by surprize and treachery, after having defended it like a lion. Such of the Messenians as fell into the hands of the Lacedæmonians on this occasion, were reduced to the condition of the helots or slaves. The rest seeing their country ruined, went and settled at Zancle, a city in Sicily, which afterwards took its name from this people, and was called Messina; the same place called at this day Messina. Aristomenes, after having conducted one of his daughters to Rhodes, whom he had given in marriage to the tyrant of that place, thought of passing on to Sardis, and to remain with Ardys, king of the Lydians, or to Ecbatana, with Phraortes, king of the Medes; but death prevented the execution of all his designs.

(k) The second Messenian war was of fourteen years duration, and ended the first year of the twenty-seventh Olympiad.

There was a third war between these people and the Lacedæmonians, which began both at a time, and on the occasion of a great earthquake that happened at Sparta. We shall speak of this war in its place.

The history, of which it remains for me to treat in this work, is that of the successors of Alexander, and comprehends the space of two hundred and ninety-three years; from the death of that monarch, and the commencement of the reign of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, in Egypt, to the death of Cleopatra, when that kingdom became a Roman province, under the emperor Augustus.

This history will present to our view a series of all the crimes which usually arise from inordinate ambition; scenes of jealousy, and perfidious conduct; treason, ingratitude, and crying abuses of sovereign power; cruelty, impiety, and utter oblivion of the natural sentiments of

H 3

probity

(k) A. M. 3334. Ant. J. C. 670.

probity and honour, with the violation of all laws human and divine, will rise before us. We shall behold nothing but fatal dissensions, destructive wars, and dreadful revolutions. Men, originally friends, brought up together, and natives of the same country, companions in the same dangers, and instruments in the accomplishment of the same exploits and victories, will conspire to tear in pieces the empire they had all concurred to form at the expence of their blood. We shall see the captains of Alexander sacrifice the mother, the wives, the brother, the sisters of that prince, to their own ambition; and without sparing even those to whom they either owed, or gave life. We shall no longer behold those glorious times of Greece, that were once so productive of great men, and great examples; or, if we should happen to discover some traces and remains of them, they will only resemble the gleams of lightning that shoot along in a rapid track, and are only remarkable from the profound darkness that precedes and follows them.

I acknowledge myself to be sufficiently sensible how much a writer is to be pitied, for being obliged to represent human nature in such colours and lineaments as dishonour her, and which occasion inevitable distaste and a secret affliction in the minds of those who are made spectators of such a picture. History loses whatever is most affecting and most capable of conveying pleasure and instruction, when she can only produce those effects, by inspiring the mind with horror for criminal actions, and by a representation of the calamities which usually succeed them, and are to be considered as their just punishment. It is difficult to engage the attention of a reader, for any considerable time, on objects which only raise his indignation, and it would be affronting him, to seem desirous of dissuading him from the excess of inordinate passions, of which he conceives himself incapable.

What means is there to preserve and diffuse the agreeable through a narration, which has nothing to offer but an uniform series of vices and great crimes; and which makes it necessary to enter into a particular detail of the actions

actions and characters of men born for the calamity of the human race, and whose very names should not be transmitted to posterity? It may even be thought dangerous, to familiarize the minds of the generality of mankind to uninterrupted scenes of too successful iniquity; and to be particular in describing the unjust success which waited on those illustrious criminals, the long duration of whose prosperity being frequently attended with the privileges and rewards of virtue, may be thought an imputation on providence, by persons of weak understandings.

This history which seems likely to prove very disagreeable, from the reasons I have just mentioned, will become more so from the obscurity and confusion in which the several transactions will be involved, and which it will be difficult, if not impossible, to remedy. Ten or twelve of Alexander's captains were engaged in a course of hostilities against each other, for the partition of his empire after his death; and to secure themselves some portion, greater or less of that vast body. Sometimes feigned friends, sometimes declared enemies, and they are continually forming different parties and leagues, which are to subsist no longer than is consistent with the interest of each particular. Macedonia changed its master five or six times in a very short space; by what means then can order and perspicuity be preserved, in a prodigious variety of events that are perpetually crossing and breaking in upon each other?

Besides which, I am no longer supported by any ancient authors capable of conducting me through this darkness and confusion. Diodorus will entirely abandon me, after having been my guide for some time; and no other historian will appear to take his place. No proper series of affairs will remain; the several events are not to be disposed into any regular connexion with each other; nor will it be possible to point out, either the motives to the resolutions formed, or the proper character of the principal actors in this scene of obscurity. I think myself happy when Polybius, or Plutarch, lend me their assistance. In my account of Alexander's successors, whose trans-

actions are, perhaps, the most complicated and perplexed part of ancient history, Usher, Prideaux, and Vaillant, will be my usual guides ; and, on many occasions, I shall only transcribe from Prideaux ; but, with all these aids, I shall not promise to throw so much light into this history as I could desire.

After a war of twenty years, the number of the principal competitors were reduced to four ; Ptolemy, Cassander, Seleucus, and Lyfimachus : The empire of Alexander was divided into four fixed kingdoms, agreeably to the prediction of Daniel, by a solemn treaty concluded between the parties. Three of these kingdoms, Egypt, Macedonia, Syria, or Asia, will have a regular succession of monarchs, sufficiently clear and distinct ; but the fourth, which comprehended Thrace, with part of the Lesser Asia, and some neighbouring provinces, will suffer a number of variations.

As the kingdom of Egypt was subject to the fewest changes, because Ptolemy, who was established there as a governor, at the death of Alexander, retained the possession of it ever after, and left it to his posterity : We shall, therefore, consider this prince as the basis of our chronology, and our several epochas shall be fixed from him.

The fifth volume contains the events for the space of one hundred and twenty years, under the four first kings of Egypt, *viz.* Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who reigned thirty-eight years ; Ptolemy Philadelphus, who reigned forty ; Ptolemy Evergetes, who reigned twenty-five ; and Ptolemy Philopator, whose reign continued seventeen.

In order to throw some light into the history contained therein, I shall, in the first place, give the principal events of it, in a chronological abridgment.

Introductory to which, I must desire the reader to accompany me in some reflections, which have not escaped Monsieur Bossuet, with relation to Alexander. This prince, who was the most renowned and illustrious conqueror in all history, was the last monarch of his race. Macedonia, his ancient kingdom, which his ancestors had
governed

governed for so many ages, was invaded from all quarters, as a vacant succession ; and after it had long been a prey to the strongest, it was at last transferred to another family. If Alexander had continued pacifick in Macedonia, the grandeur of his empire would not have excited the ambition of his captains ; and he might have transmitted the sceptor of his progenitors to his own descendants : But, as he had not prescribed any bounds to his power, he was instrumental in the destruction of his house, and we shall behold the extermination of his family, without the least remaining traces of them in history. His conquests occasioned a vast effusion of blood, and furnished his captains with a pretext for murdering one another. These were the effects that flowed from the boasted bravery of Alexander, or rather from that brutality, which, under the glittering names of ambition and glory, spread the desolations of fire and sword through whole provinces, without the least provocation, and shed the blood of multitudes who had never injured him.

We are not to imagine, however, that providence abandoned these events to chance, but, as it was then preparing all things for the approaching appearance of the Messiah, it was vigilant to unite all the nations, that were to be first enlightened with the gospel, by the use of one and the same language, which was that of Greece : And the same providence made it necessary for them to learn this foreign tongue, by subjecting them to such masters as spoke no other. The deity, therefore, by the agency of this language, which became more common and universal than any other, facilitated the preaching of the apostles, and rendered it more uniform.

The partition of the empire of Alexander the Great, among the generals of that prince immediately after his death, did not subsist for any length of time, and hardly took place, if we except Egypt, where Ptolemy had first established himself, and on the throne of which he always maintained himself without acknowledging any superior.

(1) This partition was not fully regulated and fixed, till after the battle of Ipsus in Phrygia, wherein Antigonus

H 5

and

(1) A. M. 3704. Ant. J. C. 300.

and his son Demetrius, surnamed Poliorcetes, were defeated, and the former lost his life. The empire of Alexander was then divided into four kingdoms, by a solemn treaty, as had been foretold by Daniel. Ptolemy had Egypt, Lybia, Arabia, Cœlosyria, and Palestine. Cassander, the son of Antipater, obtained Macedonia and Greece. Lyfimachus acquired Thrace, Bithynia, and some other provinces on the other side of the Hellespont and the Bosphorus. And Seleucus had Syria, and all that part of Asia Major, which extended to the other side of the Euphrates, and as far as the river Indus.

Of these four kingdoms, those of Egypt and Syria subsisted, almost without any interruption, in the same families, and through a long succession of princes. The kingdom of Macedonia had several masters of different families successively. That of Thrace was at last divided into several branches, and no longer constituted one entire body, by which means all traces of regular succession ceased to subsist.

I. The kingdom of Egypt.

THE kingdom of Egypt had fourteen monarchs, including Cleopatra, after whose death, those dominions became a province of the Roman empire. All these princes had the common name of Ptolemy, but each of them was likewise distinguished by a peculiar surname. They had also the appellation of Lagides, from Lagus the father of that Ptolemy who reigned the first in Egypt. The fifth and sixth volumes contain the histories of six of these kings, and I shall give their names a place here, with the duration of their reigns, the first of which commenced immediately upon the death of Alexander the Great.

(*m*) Ptolemy Soter. He reigned thirty-eight years and some months.

(*n*) Ptolemy Philadelphus. He reigned forty years, including the two years of his reign in the life-time of his father.

(*o*) Ptolemy

(*m*) A. M. 3680. (*n*) 3718.

- (o) Ptolemy Evergetes reigned twenty-five years.
- (p) Ptolemy Philopator reigned seventeen.
- (q) Ptolemy Epiphanes reigned twenty-four.
- (r) Ptolemy Philometor reigned thirty-four.

II. *The kingdom of Syria.*

THE kingdom of Syria had twenty-seven kings ; which makes it evident, that their reigns were often very short : And indeed several of these princes waded to the throne through the blood of their predecessors.

They are usually called Seleucides, from Seleucus, who reigned the first in Syria. History reckons up six kings of this name, and thirteen who are called by that of Antiochus ; but they are all distinguished by different surnames. Others of them assumed different names, and the last was called Antiochus XIII. with the surnames of Epiphanes, Asiaticus, and Commagenes. In his reign Pompey reduced Syria into a Roman province, after it had been governed by kings, for the space of two hundred and fifty years, according to Eusebius.

The kings of Syria, the transactions of whose reigns are contained in the fifth and sixth volumes, are eight in number.

- (s) Seleucus Nicanor. He reigned twenty years.
- (t) Antiochus Soter, nineteen
- (u) Antiochus Theos, fifteen.
- (x) Seleucus Callinicus, twenty.
- (y) Seleucus Ceraunus, three.
- (z) Antiochus the Great, thirty-six.
- (a) Seleucus Philopator, twelve.
- (b) Antiochus Epiphanes, brother of Seleucus Philopator, eleven,

III. *The kingdom of Macedonia.*

(c) MACEDONIA frequently changed its masters, after the solemn partition had been made between the four
H 6
princes.

- (o) A. M. 3758. (p) 3783. (q) 3800. (r) 3824. (s) 3704. (t) 3724.
- (u) 3743. (x) 3758. (y) 3778. (z) 3781. (a) 3817. (b) 3829.
- (c) 3707.

princes. Cassander died three or four years after the partition, and left three sons. Philip, the eldest, died presently after his father. The other two contended for the crown without enjoying it, both dying soon after without issue.

(d) Demetrius Poliorcetes, Pyrrhus, and Lyfimachus, made themselves masters of all, or the greatest part of Macedonia; sometimes in conjunction, and at other times separately,

(e) After the death of Lyfimachus, Seleucus possessed himself of Macedonia, but did not long enjoy it.

(f) Ptolemy Ceraunus having slain the preceding prince, seized the kingdom, and possessed it alone but a very short time, having lost his life in a battle with the Gauls, who had made an irruption into that country.

(g) Sothenes, who defeated the Gauls, reigned but a short time in Macedonia.

(b) Antigonus Gonatas, the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, obtained the peaceable possession of the kingdom of Macedonia, and transmitted those dominions to his descendents, after he had reigned thirty-four years.

He was succeeded by his son Demetrius, who reigned ten years, and then died, leaving a son named Philip, who was but two years old.

Antigonus Doson reigned twelve years in the quality of guardian to the young prince.

Philip, after the death of Antigonus, ascended the throne at the age of fourteen years, and reigned something more than forty.

His son Perseus succeeded him, and reigned about eleven years. He was defeated and taken prisoner by Paulus Emilius; and Macedonia, in consequence of that victory, was added to the provinces of the Roman empire.

IV. *The Kingdom of Thrace, and Bithynia, &c.*

THIS fourth kingdom, composed of several separate provinces, very remote from one another, had not any succession

(d) A. M. 3710. (e) 3725. (f) 3724. (g) 3726. (b) 3728.

succession of princes, and did not long subsist in its first condition; Lydimachus, who first obtained it, having been killed in a battle after a reign of twenty years, and all his family being exterminated by assassinations, his dominions were dismembered, and no longer constituted one kingdom.

Besides the provinces which were divided among the captains of Alexander, there were others which had been either formed before, or were then erected into different and independent Grecian states, whose power greatly increased in process of time.

Kings of Bithynia.

WHILST Alexander was extending his conquests in the East, Zypethes had laid the foundations of the kingdom of Bithynia. It is not certain who this Zypethes was, unless we may conjecture with Pausanias, that he was a Thracian. His successors however are better known.

Nicomedes I. This prince invited the Gauls to assist him against his brother, with whom he was engaged in a war.

Prusias I.

Prusias II. Surnamed the Hunter, in whose court Hannibal took refuge, and assisted him with his counsels, in his war against Eumenes II. king of Pergamus.

Nicomedes II. was killed by his son Socrates.

Nicomedes III. was assisted by the Romans in his wars with Mithridates, and bequeathed to them at his death the kingdom of Bithynia, as a testimonial of his gratitude to them: by which means these territories became a Roman province.

Kings of Pergamus.

THIS kingdom comprehended only one of the smallest provinces of Mysia, on the coast of the Ægean sea against the island of Lesbos.

This

This kingdom was founded by Philatera, an eunuch, who had been a servant to Docima, a commander of the troops of Antigonus. Lyfimachus confided to him the treasures he had deposited in the castle of the city of Pergamus, and he became master both of these and the city after the death of that prince. He governed this little sovereignty for the space of twenty years, and then left it to Eumenes his nephew.

Eumenes I. enlarged his principality, by the addition of several cities, which he took from the kings of Syria, having defeated Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, in a battle. He reigned twelve years.

He was succeeded by Attalus I. his cousin-german, who assumed the title of king, after he had conquered the Galatians; and he transmitted his dominions to his posterity, who enjoyed them to the third generation. He assisted the Romans in their war with Philip, and died after a reign of forty-three years. He left four sons.

His successor was Eumenes II. his eldest son, who founded the famous library of Pergamus. He reigned thirty-nine years, and left the crown to his brother Attalus, in quality of guardian to one of his sons, whom he had by Stratonice, the sister of Ariarathes king of Cappadocia. The Romans enlarged his dominions considerably, after the victory they obtained over Antiochus the Great.

(i) Attalus II. espoused Stratonice his brother's widow, and took extraordinary care of his nephew, to whom he left the crown, after he had worn it twenty-one years.

(k) Attalus III. surnamed Philometer, distinguished himself by his barbarous and extravagant conduct. He died after he had reigned five years, and bequeathed his riches and dominions to the Romans.

(l) Aristonicus, who claimed the succession, endeavoured to defend his pretensions against the Romans, but the kingdom of Pergamus was reduced, after a war of four years, into a Roman province.

Kings

(i) A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159.
(l) A. M. 3871. Ant. J. C. 138.

(k) A. M. 3866. Ant. J. C. 133.

Kings of Pontus.

(*m*) THE kingdom of Pontus in Asia Minor was anciently dismembered from the monarchy of Persia, by Darius the son of Hytaspes, in favour of Artabazus, who is said by some historians, to have been the son of one of those Persian lords who conspired against the Magi.

Pontus is a region of Asia Minor. and is situated partly along the coast of the Euxine sea (*Pontus Euxinus*) from which it derives its name. It extends as far as the river Halys, and even to Colchis. Several princes reigned in that country since Artabazus.

(*n*) The sixth monarch was Mithridates I. who is properly considered as the founder of the kingdom of Pontus, and his name was assumed by the generality of his successors.

(*o*) He was succeeded by his son Ariobarzanes, who had governed Phrygia under Artaxerxes Mnemon, and reigned twenty-six years.

(*p*) His successor was Mithridates II. Antigonus suspecting, in consequence of a dream, that he favoured Cassander, had determined to destroy him, but he eluded the danger by flight. This prince was called Κτιστής, or *The Founder*, and reigned thirty-five years.

(*q*) Mithridates III. succeeded him, added Cappadocia and Paphlagonia to his dominions, and reigned thirty-six years.

After the reigns of two other kings, Mithridates, the great grandfather of Mithridates the Great, ascended the throne, and espoused a daughter of Seleucus Callinicus, king of Syria, by whom he had Laodice, who was married to Antiochus the Great.

(*r*) He was succeeded by his son Pharnaces, who had some disagreement with the kings of Pergamus. He made

(*m*) A. M. 3490. Ant. J. C. 514.

(*n*) A. M. 3600. Ant. J. C. 404.

(*o*) A. M. 3641. Ant. J. C. 363.

(*p*) A. M. 3667. Ant. J. C. 337.

(*q*) A. M. 3702. Ant. J. C. 302.

(*r*) A. M. 3819. Ant. J. C. 185.

made himself master of Sinope, which afterwards became the capital of the kingdom of Pontus.

After him reigned Mithridates V. and the first who was called a friend to the Romans, because he had assisted them against the Carthaginians in the first Punick war.

(s) He was succeeded by his son Mithridates VI. surnamed Eupater. This is the great Mithridates who sustained so long a war with the Romans, and reigned sixty-six years.

Kings of Cappadocia.

STRABO (t) informs us, that Cappadocia was divided into two Satrapies, or governments, under the Persians, as it also was under the Macedonians. The maritime part of Cappadocia formed the kingdom of Pontus: the other tracts constituted Cappadocia properly so called, or the Cappadocia Major, which extends along Mount Taurus, and to a great distance beyond it.

(u) When Alexander's captains divided the provinces of his empire among themselves, Cappadocia was governed by a prince named Ariarathes. Perdiccas attacked and defeated him, after which he caused him to be slain.

His son Ariarathes re-entered the kingdom of his father some time after this event, and established himself so effectually, that he left it to his posterity.

The generality of his successors assumed the same name, and will have their place in the series of the history.

Cappadocia, after the death of Archelaus, the last of its kings, became a province of the Roman empire, as the rest of Asia also did much about the same time.

Kings of Armenia.

ARMENIA, a vast country of Asia, extending on each side of the Euphrates, was conquered by the Persians:

after

(s) A. M. 3880. Ant. J. C. 124.

(t) Strab. l. xii. p. 534.

(u) A. M. 3682. Ant. J. C. 322.

after which it was transferred, with the rest of the empire, to the Macedonians, and at last fell to the share of the Romans. It was governed for a great length of time by its own kings, the most considerable of whom was Tigranes, who espoused the daughter of the great Mithridatus king of Pontus, and was also engaged in a long war with the Romans. This kingdom supported itself many years, between the Roman and Parthian empires, sometimes depending on the one, and sometimes on the other, till at last the Romans became its masters.

Kings of Epirus.

EPIRUS is a province of Greece, separated from Thessaly and Macedonia by mount Pindus. The most powerful people of this country were the Molossians.

The kings of Epirus pretended to derive their descent from Pyrrhus the son of Achilles, who established himself, in that country, and called themselves Æacides, from Æacus the grandfather of Achilles.

(x) The genealogy of the last kings, who were the only sovereigns of this country of whom any accounts remain, is variously related by authors, and consequently must be dubious and obscure.

Arymbas ascended the throne, after a long succession of kings, and as he was then very young, the states of Epirus, who were sensible that the welfare of the people depended on the proper education of their princes, sent him to Athens, which was the residence and centre of all the arts and sciences, in order to cultivate, in that excellent school, such knowledge as was necessary to form the mind of a king. He there learned the art of reigning effectually, and * as he surpassed all his ancestors in ability and knowledge, he was in consequence infinitely more esteemed and beloved by his people than they had been. When he returned from Athens, he made laws, established
a senate

(x) Diod. l. xvi. p. 465. Justin. l. viii. c. 6. Plut. in Pyrrho.

* Quanto doctior majoribus, tanto & gratior populo fuit. *Justin.* l. xvii. c. 3.

a senate and magistracy, and regulated the form of the government.

Neoptolemus, whose daughter Olympias had espoused Philip King of Macedon, attained an equal share in the regal government of Arymbas his elder brother; by the credit of his son-in-law. After the death of Arymbas, Æacides his son ought to have been his successor; but Philip had still the credit to procure his expulsion from the kingdom by the Molossians, who established Alexander the son of Neoptolemus sole monarch of Epirus.

Alexander espoused Cleopatra the daughter of Philip, and marched with an army into Italy, where he lost his life in the country of the Brutians.

Æacides then ascended the throne, and reigned without any associate in Epirus. He espoused Phthia the daughter of Menon the Thessalian, by whom he had two daughters, Deidamia and Troida, and one son, the celebrated Pyrrhus.

As he was marching to the assistance of Olympias, his troops mutinied against him, condemned him to exile, and slaughtered most of his friends. Pyrrhus, who was then an infant, happily escaped this massacre.

Neoptolemus, a prince of the blood, but whose particular extraction is little known, was placed on the throne by the people of Epirus.

Pyrrhus, being recalled by his subjects at the age of twelve years, first shared the sovereignty with Neoptolemus; but having afterwards divested him of his dignity, he reigned alone.

(y) This history will treat of the various adventures of this prince. He died in the city of Argos, in an attack to make himself master of it.

Helenus his son reigned after him for some time in Epirus, which was afterwards united to the Roman empire.

Tyrants of Heraclea.

HERACLEA is a city of Pontus, anciently founded by the Bceotians, who sent a colony into that country by the order of an oracle.

(y) A. M. 3733. Ant. J. C. 271.

(z) Whea

(z) When the Athenians were victorious over the Persians, and had imposed a tribute on the cities of Greece and Asia Minor, for the fitting out and support of a fleet intended for the defence of the common liberty, the inhabitants of Heraclea, in consequence of their attachment to the Persians, were the only people who refused to acquiesce in so just a contribution. Lamachus was therefore sent against them and he ravaged their territories; but a violent tempest having destroyed his whole fleet, he beheld himself abandoned to the mercy of that people, whose natural ferocity might well have been increased, by the severe treatment they had lately received. But * they had recourse to no other vengeance but benefactions; they furnished him with provisions and troops for his return, and were willing to consider the depredations which had been committed in their country as advantageous to them, if they acquired the friendship of the Athenians at that price.

(a) Some time after this event, the populace of Heraclea excited a violent commotion against the rich citizens and senators, who having implored assistance to no effect, first from Timotheus the Athenian, and afterwards from Epaminondas the Theban, were necessitated to recall Clearchus a senator to their defence whom themselves had banished; but his exile had neither improved his morals nor rendered him a better citizen than he was before. He therefore made the troubles, in which he found the city involved, subservient to his design of subjecting it to his own power. With this view he openly declared for the people, caused himself to be invested with the highest office in the magistracy, and assumed a sovereign authority in a short time. Being thus become a professed tyrant, there were no kinds of violence to which he had not recourse against the rich and the senators, to

(z) Justin. l. xvi. c. 3—5. Diod. l. xv. 390.

(a) A. M. 3640. Ant. J. C. 364.

* Heraclienfes honestiorem beneficii, quam ultionis occasionem rati, instructos commeatibus auxiliisque dimittunt; bene agrorum

suorum populationem impensam exstimentes si, quos hostes habuerant amicos reddidissent. *Justin.*

to satiate his avarice and cruelty. He proposed for his model Dionysius the Tyrant, who had established his power over the Syracusans at the same time.

After a hard and inhuman servitude of twelve years, two young citizens, who were Plato's disciples, and had been instructed in his maxims, formed a conspiracy against Clearchus, and slew him; but though they delivered their country from the tyrant, the tyranny still subsisted.

(b) Timotheus, the son of Clearchus, assumed his place, and pursued his conduct for the space of fifteen years.

(c) He was succeeded by his brother Dionysius, who was in danger of being dispossessed of his authority by Perdiccas; but as this last was soon destroyed, (d) Dionysius contracted a friendship with Antigonus, whom he assisted against Ptolemy in the Cyprian war.

He espoused Amastris, the widow of Craterus, and daughter of Oxiathres, the brother of Darius. This alliance inspired him with so much courage, that he assumed the title of king, and enlarged his dominions by the addition of several places which he seized on the confines of Heraclea.

(e) He died two or three years before the battle of Ipsus, and after a reign of thirty-three years, leaving two sons and a daughter under the tutelage and regency of Amastris,

This princess was rendered happy in her administration by the affection Antigonus entertained for her. She founded a city, and called it by her name; after which she transplanted thither the inhabitants of three other cities, and espoused Lyfimachus, after the death of Antigonus.

Kings of Syracuse.

(f) HIERO, and his son Hieronymus, reigned at Syracuse; the first fifty-four years, the second but one year.

(g) Syracuse

(b) A. M. 3652. Ant. J. C. 352.

(c) A. M. 3067. Ant. J. C. 337. Diod. l. xvi. p. 435.

(d) Ibid. p. 478. (e) A. M. 3700. Ant. J. C. 304. (f) A. M. 3735. Ant. J. C. 269.

(g) Syracuse recovered its liberty by the death of the last, but continued in the interest of the Carthaginians, which Hieronymus had caused it to espouse. (h) His conduct obliged Marcellus to form the siege of that city, which he took the following year. I shall enlarge upon the history of these two kings in another place.

Other Kings.

SEVERAL kings likewise reigned in the Cimmerian Bosphorus, as also in Thrace, Cyrene in Africa, Paphlagonia, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, and a variety of other places; but their history is very uncertain, and their successions have but little regularity.

These circumstances are very different with respect to the kingdom of the Parthians, who formed themselves, as we shall see in the sequel, into such a powerful monarchy, as became formidable even to the Roman empire. That of the Bactrians received its original about the same period; I shall treat of each in their proper places.

(g) A. M. 3780. Ant. J. C. 224. (h) A. M. 3790. Ant. J. C. 213,

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BOOK THE FIRST.

THE ANCIENT
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
E G Y P T I A N S.

I Shall divide what I have to say upon the Egyptians into three parts. The first contains a concise description of the different parts of Egypt, and of what is most remarkable in it. In the second I treat of the customs, laws, and religion of the Egyptians: and in the third, I give the history of their kings.

PART THE FIRST.

The Description of EGYPT: With an Account of what ever is most curious and remarkable in that Country.

EGYPT comprehended anciently, within limits of no very great extent, a * prodigious number of cities, and an incredible multitude of inhabitants.

It is bounded on the east by the Red-Sea and the Isthmus of Suez; on the south by Ethiopia, on the west by Libya, and on the north by the Mediterranean. The Nile runs from south to north, through the whole country, about two hundred leagues in length. This country is enclosed on each side with a ridge of mountains, which very often leave, between the foot of the hills

* It is related that under Amasis, *ted cities in Egypt.* Her. l. ii. there were twenty thousand inhabi- c. 177.

hills and the river Nile, a tract of ground, not above half a day's journey in length *, and sometimes less.

On the west side, the plain grows wider in some places, and extends to twenty-five or thirty leagues. The greatest breadth of Egypt is from Alexandria to Damietta, being about fifty leagues.

Ancient Egypt may be divided into three principal parts; Upper Egypt, otherwise called Thebais, which was the most southern part; Middle Egypt, or Heptanomis, so called from the seven Nomi or districts it contained; Lower Egypt; which included what the Greeks call Delta, and all the country as far as the Red-Sea, and along the Mediterranean to Rhinocolura, or Mount Casius. (a) Under Sesostris, all Egypt became one kingdom, and was divided into thirty-six governments or Nomi; ten in Thebais, ten in Delta, and sixteen in the country between both.

The cities of Syene and Elephantina divided Egypt from Ethiopia; and in the days of Augustus were the boundaries of the Roman empire: *Claustra olim Romani Imperii*, Tacit. Annal. Lib. ii. Cap. 61.

CH A P. I.

T H E B A I S.

THEBES, from whence Thebais had its name, might vie with the noblest cities in the universe. Its hundred gates, celebrated by Homer, (b) are universally known; and acquired it the surname of Hecatonpylos, to distinguish it from the other Thebes in Boeotia. (c) It was equally large and populous; and, according to history, could send out at once two hundred chariots, and ten thousand fighting-men at each of its gates. (d) The Greeks and Romans have celebrated its magnificence and grandeur

* A day's journey is 24 easters, or 33 English miles and a quarter.

(a) Strabo. l. 17, p. 787. (b) Hom. Il. 1 ver. 381. (c) Strab. l. xvii. p. 816. (d) Tacit. Ann. l. ii. c. 60.

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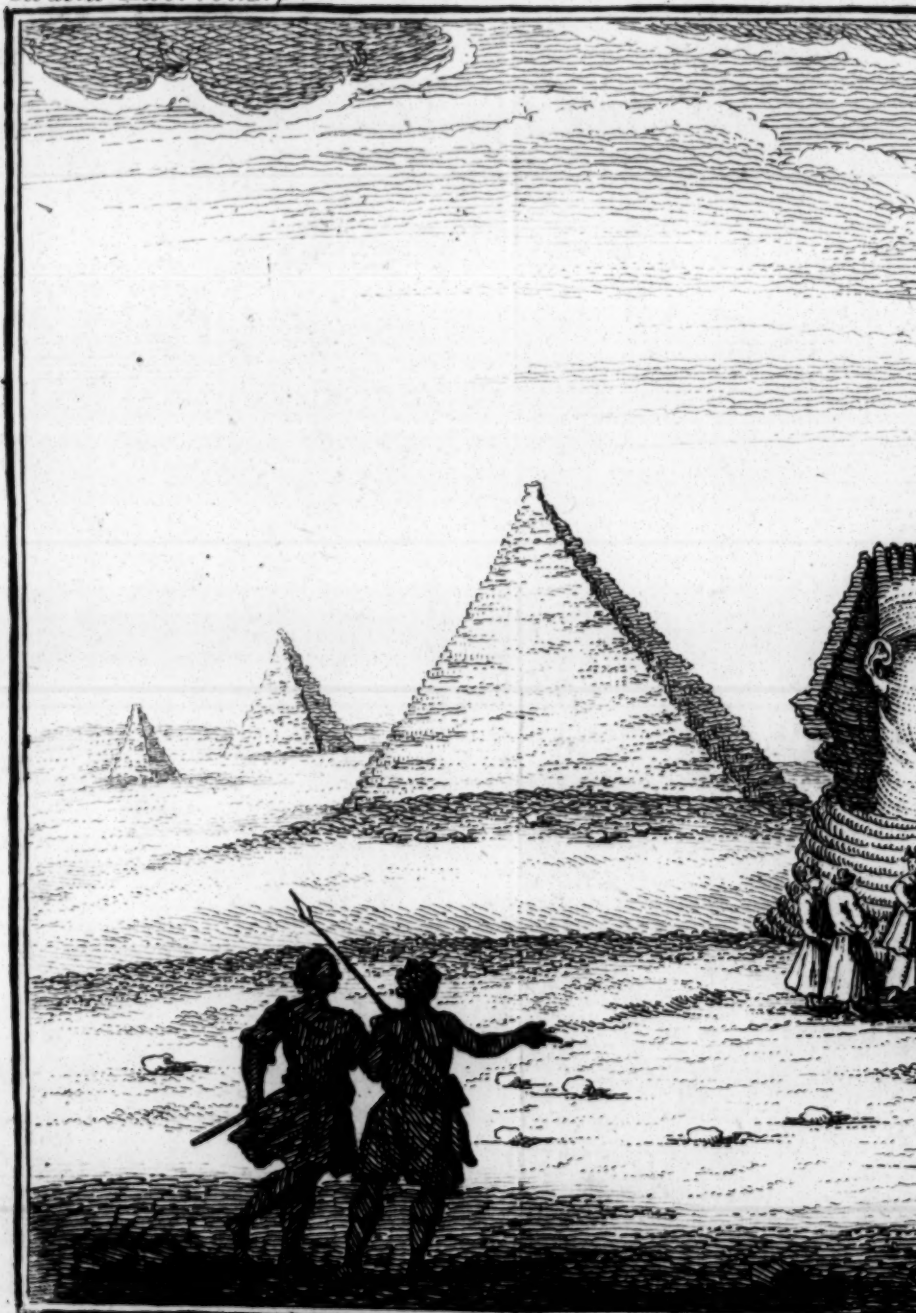
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rab. l. xvii.

Rollin's Hist: Vol. I. p.



The Pyramids of Egypt,



Egypt, and the Sphinx
Published Feb. 1st 1754. by J. & P. Knapton.

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grandeur, though they saw it only in its ruins; so august were the remains of this city.

(e) In Thebes, now called Said, have been discovered temples and palaces which are still almost entire, adorned with innumerable columns and statues. One palace especially is admired, the remains whereof seem to have existed purely to eclipse the glory of the most pompous edifices. Four walks extending farther than the eye can see, and bounded on each side with sphinxes, composed of materials as rare and extraordinary as their size is remarkable, serve for avenues to four porticoes, whose height is amazing to behold. Besides, they who give us the description of this wonderful edifice, had not time to go round it; and are not sure that they saw above half; however, what they had a sight of was astonishing. A hall, which in all appearance stood in the middle of this stately palace, was supported by an hundred and twenty pillars six fathoms round, of a proportionable height, and intermixed with obelisks, which so many ages have not been able to demolish. Painting had displayed all her art and magnificence in this edifice. The colours themselves, which soonest feel the injury of time, still remain amidst the ruins of this wonderful structure, and preserve their beauty and lustre; so happily could the Egyptians imprint a character of immortality on all their works. (f) Strabo, who was on the spot describes a temple he saw in Egypt, very much resembling that of which I have been speaking.

The same (g) author, describing the curiosities of Thebais, speaks of a very famous statue of Memnon, the remains whereof he had seen. It is said that this statue, when the beams of the rising sun first shone upon it in the morning, uttered an articulate sound*. And indeed Strabo himself was an ear-witness of this; but then he doubts whether the sound came from the statue.

VOL. I.

I

CHAP.

(e) Thevenot's Travels.

(f) Lib. xvii. p. 805.

(g) p. 816.

* Germanicus aliis quoque miraculis intendit animum, quorum præcipua fuere Memnonis faxea effigies, ubi radiis solis icta est, vocalem sonum reddeus, &c. Tacit. Annul. l. ii. c. 61.

CHAP. II.

MIDDLE EGYPT, or HEPTANOMIS.

MEMPHIS was the capital of this part of Egypt, Here were many stately temples, especially that of the god Apis, who was honoured in this city after a particular manner. I shall speak of it hereafter, as well as of the pyramids which stood in the neighbourhood of this place, and rendered it so famous. Memphis was situated on the west side of the Nile.

(b) Grand Cairo, which seems to have succeeded Memphis, was built on the other side of that river. The castle of Cairo is one of the greatest curiosities in Egypt. It stands on a hill without the city, has a rock for its foundation, and is surrounded with walls of a vast height and solidity. You go up to the castle by a way hewn out of the rock, and which is so easy of ascent, that loaded horses and camels get up without difficulty. The greatest rarity in this castle is Joseph's well, so called, either because the Egyptians are pleased with ascribing their most remarkable particulars to that great man, or because there is really such a tradition in the country. This is a proof, at least, that the work in question is very ancient; and it is certainly worthy the magnificence of the most powerful kings of Egypt. This well has, as it were, two stories, cut out of the rock to a prodigious depth. One descends to the reservoir of water, between the two wells, by a stair-case seven or eight feet broad, consisting of two hundred and twenty steps, and so contrived, that the oxen, employed to throw up the water, go down with all imaginable ease, the descent being scarce perceptible. The well is supplied from a spring, which is almost the only one in the whole country. The oxen are continually turning a wheel with a rope, to which buckets are fastened. The water thus drawn from the first and lowermost well, is conveyed by a little canal, into a reservoir, which forms the second well; from whence

(b) Theynot.

Rollin's Ant. Hist. Vol. I.



ANTIQUITIES OF EGYPT.

Published 20. June 1740. by J. & P. Knapton.



whence it is drawn to the top in the same manner, and then conveyed by pipes to all parts of the castle. As this well is supposed by the inhabitants of the country to be of great antiquity, and has indeed much of the antique manner of the Egyptians, I thought it might deserve a place among the curiosities of ancient Egypt.

(i) Strabo speaks of such an engine, which, by wheels and pullies, threw up the water of the Nile to the top of a vast high hill; with this difference, that instead of oxen, an hundred and fifty slaves were employed to turn these wheels.

The part of Egypt of which we speak, is famous for several rarities, each of which deserves a particular examination. I shall relate only the principal, such as the obelisks, the pyramids, the labyrinth, the lake of Mœris, and the Nile.

SECT. I. *The OBELISKS.*

EGYPT seemed to place its chief glory in raising monuments for posterity. Its obelisks form at this day, on account of their beauty as well as height, the principal ornament of Rome; and the Roman power, despairing to equal the Egyptians, thought it honour enough to borrow the monuments of their kings.

An obelisk is a quadrangular, taper, high spire or pyramid, raised perpendicularly, and terminating in a point, to serve as an ornament to some open square; and is very often covered with inscriptions or hieroglyphicks, that is, with mystical characters or symbols used by the Egyptians to conceal and disguise their sacred things, and the mysteries of their theology.

(k) Sesostris erected in the city of Heliopolis two obelisks of extreme hard stone, brought from the quarters of Syene, at the extremity of Egypt. They were each one hundred and twenty cubits high, that is, thirty fathoms, or one hundred and eighty feet*. The em-

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peror

(i) L. xvii. p. 807.

(k) Diod. lib. i. p. 37.

* It is proper to observe, once for all, that an Egyptian cubit, according to Mr. Greaves, was one foot nine inches and about $\frac{1}{2}$ of our measure.

peror Augustus, having made Egypt a province of the empire, caused these two obelisks to be transported to Rome, one whereof was afterwards broke to pieces. (l) He durst not venture upon a third, which was of a monstrous size. It was made in the reign of Ramises: it is said that twenty thousand men were employed in the cutting of it. Constantius, more daring than Augustus, ordered it to be removed to Rome. Two of these obelisks are still seen, as well as another of an hundred cubits, or twenty-five fathoms high, and eight cubits, or two fathoms in diameter. (m) Caius Caesar had it brought from Egypt in a ship of so odd a form, that, according to Pliny, the like had never been seen.

Every part of Egypt abounded with this kind of obelisks; they were for the most part cut in quarries of Upper Egypt, where some are now to be seen half finished. But the most wonderful circumstance is, that the ancient Egyptians should have had the art and contrivance to dig even in the very quarry a canal, through which the water of the Nile ran in the time of its inundation; from whence they afterwards raised up the columns, obelisks, and statues on *rafts, proportioned to their weight, in order to convey them into Lower Egypt. And as the country abounded every where with canals, there were few places to which those huge bodies might not be carried with ease; although their weight would have broke every other kind of engine.

SECT. II. *The PYRAMIDS.*

(n) **A** Pyramid is a solid or hollow body, having a large, and generally a square base, and terminating in a point.

There were three pyramids in Egypt more famous than the rest, one whereof † deserved to be ranked among the seven wonders of the world; they did not stand

(l) Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 8, 9.

(m) Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 9.

(n) Herod. l. ii. c. 124, &c. Diod l. i. p. 39—41. Plin. lib. xxxvi. c. 12.

* Rafts are pieces of flat timber put together to carry goods on rivers.

† Vide Diod. Sic.



Egyptian Obelisks now at Rome
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stand very far from the city of Memphis. I shall take notice here only of the largest of the three. This pyramid, like the rest, was built on a rock, having a square base, cut on the outside as so many steps, and decreasing gradually quite to the summit. It was built with stones of a prodigious size, the least of which were thirty feet, wrought with wonderful art, and covered with hieroglyphicks. According to several ancient authors, each side was eight hundred feet broad and as many high. The summit of the pyramids, which to those who viewed it from below, seemed a point, was a fine platform, composed of ten or twelve mally stones, and each side of that platform sixteen or eighteen feet long.

M. de Chazelles, of the academy of sciences, who went purposely on the spot in 1693, gives us the following dimensions:

The side of the square base 110 fathoms.

The fronts are equilateral triangles, and therefore the superficies of the base is } 12,100 square fathoms.

The perpendicular height 77 $\frac{3}{4}$ fathoms.

The solid contents 313590 cubical fathoms.

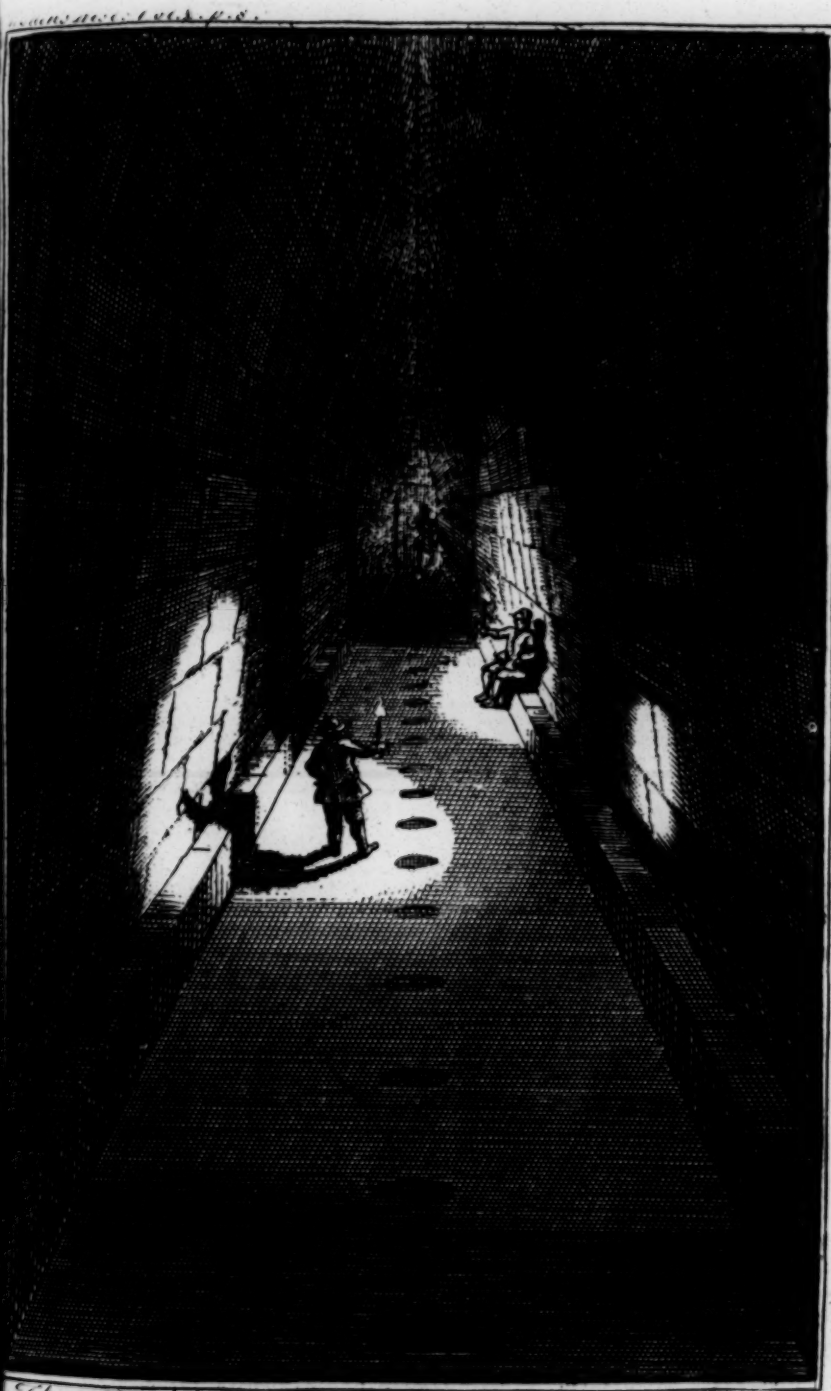
An hundred thousand men were constantly employed about this work, and were relieved every three months by the same number. Ten complete years were spent in hewing out the stones, either in Arabia or Ethiopia, and in conveying them to Egypt; and twenty years more in building this immense edifice, the inside of which contained numberless rooms and apartments. There was expressed on the pyramid, in Egyptian characters, the sums it cost only in garlick, leeks, onions, and the like, for the workmen; and the whole amounted to sixteen hundred * talents of silver, that is, four millions five hundred thousand French livres; from whence it was easy to conjecture what a vast sum the whole must have amounted to.

Such were the famous Egyptian pyramids, which by their figure, as well as size, have triumphed over the injuries of time and the Barbarians. But what efforts soever men may make, their nothingness will always appear. These pyramids were tombs; and there is still to be seen, in the middle of the largest, an empty sepulchre, cut out of one entire stone, about three feet deep and broad, and a little above six feet long *. Thus all this bustle, all this expence, and all the labours of so many thousand men, ended in procuring a prince, in this vast and almost boundless pile of building, a little vault six feet in length. Besides, the kings who built these pyramids, had it not in their power to be buried in them; and so did not enjoy the sepulchre they had built. The publick hatred which they incurred, by reason of their unheard-of cruelties to their subjects in laying such heavy tasks upon them, occasioned their being interred in some obscure place, to prevent their bodies from being exposed to the fury and vengeance of the populace.

(c) This last circumstance which historians have taken particular notice of, teaches us what judgement we ought to pass on these edifices, so much boasted of by the ancients. It is but just to remark and esteem the noble genius which the Egyptians had for architecture; a genius that prompted them from the earliest times, and before they could have any models to imitate, to aim in all things at the grand and magnificent; and to be intent on real beauties without deviating in the least from a noble simplicity, in which the highest perfection of the art consists. But what idea ought we to form of those princes who considered as something grand, the raising by a multitude of hands, and by the help of money, immense structures, with the sole view of rendering their names immortal; and who did not scruple to destroy thousands of their subjects to satisfy their vain glory! They differed very much

(c) Diod. lib. i. p. 40.

* Strabo mentions the sepulchre, Lib. xvii. p. 8c8.



The Inside of the great Pyramid
Published Feb. 1. 1754. by G. & P. Knapton.

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much from the Romans, who sought to immortalise themselves by works of a magnificent kind, but, at the same time, of publick utility

(p) Pliny gives us, in few words, a just idea of these pyramids, when he calls them a foolish and useless ostentation of the wealth of the Egyptian kings; *Regum pecuniæ otiosa ab stulta ostentatio*. And adds, that by a just punishment their memory is buried in oblivion; the historians not agreeing among themselves about the names of those who first raised those vain monuments: *Inter eos non constant a quibus factæ sint, justissimo casu oblitteratis tantæ vanitatis auctoribus*. In a word, according to the judicious remark of Diodorus, the industry of the architects of those pyramids is no less valuable and praise-worthy, than the design of the Egyptian kings contemptible and ridiculous.

But what we should most admire in these ancient monuments, is, the true and standing evidence they give of the skill of the Egyptians in astronomy; that is, in a science which seems incapable of being brought to perfection, but by a long series of years, and a great number of observations. M. de Chazelles, when he measured the great pyramid in question, found that the four sides of it were turned exactly to the four quarters of the world; and consequently showed the true meridian of that place. Now, as so exact a situation was in all probability purposely pitched upon by those who piled up this huge mass of stones, above three thousand years ago; it follows, that during so long a space of time, there has been no alteration in the heavens in that respect, or (which amounts to the same thing) in the poles of the earth or the meridians. This is M. de Fontenelle's remark in his eulogium of M. de Chazelles.

(p) Lib. xxxvi. cap. 12.

SECT. III. *The LABYRINTH.*

(q) **W**HAT has been said concerning the judgment we ought to form of the pyramids, may also be applied to the labyrinth which Herodotus, who saw it, assures us was still more surprising than the pyramids. It was built at the most southern part of the lake of Moëris, whereof mention will be made presently, near the town of Crocodiles, the same with Arsinoë. It was not so much one single palace, as a magnificent pile composed of twelve palaces, regularly disposed, which had a communication with each other. Fifteen hundred rooms, interspersed with terrasses, were ranged round twelve halls, and discovered no outlet to such as went to see them. There were the like number of buildings under ground. These subterraneous structures were designed for the burying-place of the kings, and (who can speak this without confusion and without deploring the blindness of man!) for keeping the sacred crocodiles, which a nation, so wise in other respects, worshipped as gods.

In order to visit the rooms and halls of the labyrinth, it was necessary, as the reader will naturally suppose, for people to take the same precaution as Ariadne made Theseus use, when he was obliged to go and fight the Minotaur in the labyrinth of Crete. Virgil describes it in this manner:

*And as the Cretan labyrinth of old,
With wand'ring ways, and many a winding fold,
Involv'd the weary feet without redress,
In a round error, which deny'd recess:
Not far from thence he grav'd the wond'rous maze;
A thousand doors, a thousand winding ways.*

(r) Ut quondam Creta fertur labyrinthus in alta Pari-

(q) Herod. l. ii. c. 148. Diod. l. i. p. 42. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 13. Strab. l. xvii. p. 811.

(r) Virg. l. vi. ver. 588, &c.

Parietibus textum cœcis iter ancipitem ue
Mille viis habuisse dolum, qua signa sequendi
Falleret indepreñsus & irremeabilis error.

(s) Hic labor, ille domus et inextricabilis error.
Dædalus ipse dolos tecti ambigesque resolvit,
Cæca regens filo vestigia.

SECT. IV. *The Lake of MOERIS.*

(t) **T**HE noblest and most wonderful of all the structures or works of the kings of Egypt, was the lake of Moëris: accordingly, Herodotus considers it as vastly superiour to the pyramids and labyrinth. As Egypt was more or less fruitful in proportion to the inundations of the Nile; and as in these floods, the two general flow or ebb of the waters were equally fatal to the lands; king Moëris, to prevent these two inconveniencies, and correct, as far as lay in his power, the irregularities of the Nile, thought proper to call art to the assistance of nature; and so caused the lake to be dug, which afterwards went by his name. This * lake was about three thousand six hundred stadia, that is, about one hundred and eighty French leagues, and three hundred feet deep. Two pyramids, on each of which stood a colossal statue, seated on a throne, raised their heads to the height of three hundred feet, in the midst of the lake, whilst their foundations took up the same space under the water; a proof that they were erected before the cavity was filled, and a demonstration that a lake of such vast extent was the work of man's hands, in one prince's reign. This is what several historians have related concerning the lake Moëris, on the testimony of the inhabitants of the country. And the Bishop of Meaux, in his discourse on Universal History, relates the whole as fact. With regard to myself, I will confess, that I

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do

(s) Virg. l. vi. ver. 27, &c.

(t) Herod. l. ii. c. 140. Strab. l. xvii. p. 787. Dio¹. l. i. p. 47. Plin. l. v. c. 9. Pomp. Mela. l. i.

* Vide Herod. and Diod. *Pliny agrees almost with them.*

do not see the least probability in it. Is it possible to conceive, that a lake of an hundred and eighty leagues in circumference, could have been dug in the reign of one prince? In what manner, and where, could the earth taken from it be conveyed? What should prompt the Egyptians to lose the surface of so much land? By what arts could they fill this vast tract with the superfluous waters of the Nile? Many other objections might be made. In my opinion therefore, we ought to follow Pomponius Mela, an ancient geographer; especially as his account is confirmed by several modern travellers. According to that author, this lake is but twenty thousand paces, that is, seven or eight French leagues in circumference. (u) *Mæris aliquando campus, nunc lacus, viginti millia passuum in circuitu patens.*

This lake had a communication with the Nile, by a great canal, four leagues long*, and fifty feet broad. Great sluices either opened or shut the canal and lake, as there was occasion.

The charge of opening or shutting them amounted to fifty talents, that is, fifty thousand French crowns†. The fishing of this lake brought the monarch immense sums; but its chief use related to the overflowing of the Nile. When it rose too high, and was like to be attended with fatal consequences, the sluices were opened; and the waters, having a free passage into the lake, covered the lands no longer than was necessary to enrich them. On the contrary, when the inundation was too low, and threatened a famine, a sufficient quantity of water, by the help of drains, was let out of the lake, to water the lands. In this manner the irregularities of the Nile were corrected; and Strabo remarks, that, in his time, under Petronius, a governor of Egypt, when the inundation of the Nile was twelve cubits, a very great plenty ensued; and even when it rose but to eight cubits, the dearth was scarce felt in the country; doubtless, because the waters of the lake made up for those of the inundation, by the help of canals and drains.

SECT. V.

(u) Mela, l. i.

* Eighty-five stadia.

† 11250 l. sterling.

SECT. V. *The Inundations of the NILE.*

THE Nile is the greatest wonder of Egypt. As it seldom rains there, this river, which waters the whole country by its regular inundations, supplies that defect, by bringing, as a yearly tribute, the rains of other countries; which made a poet say ingeniously, *The Egyptian pastures, how great soever the drought may be, never implore Jupiter for rain.*

*Te propter nullos tellus tua postulat imbres
Arida nec pluvio supplicat herba Jovi*.*

To multiply so beneficent a river, Egypt was cut into numberless canals, of a length and breadth proportioned to the different situation and wants of the lands. The Nile brought fertility every where with its salutary streams; united cities one with another, and the Mediteranean with the Red-Sea; maintained trade at home and abroad, and fortified the kingdom against the enemy; so that it was at once the nourisher and protector of Egypt. The fields were delivered up to it; but the cities which were raised with immense labour, and stood like islands in the midst of the waters, looked down with joy to the plains which were overflowed, and at the same time enriched by the Nile.

This is a general idea of the nature and effects of this river, so famous among the ancients. But a wonder so astonishing in itself, and which has been the object of the curiosity and admiration of the learned in all ages, seems to require a more particular description, in which I shall be as concise as possible.

1. *The source of the Nile*

The ancients placed the sources of the Nile in the mountains of the moon (as they are commonly called) in

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the

* Seneca (Nat. Quæst. l. iv. c. 2.) ascribes these verses to Ovid, & they are Tibullus's.

the 10th degree of south latitude. But our modern travellers have discovered that they lie in the 12th degree of north-latitude: and by that means they cut off about four or five hundred leagues of the course which the ancients gave that river. It rises at the foot of a great mountain in the kingdom of Goyam in Abyssinia, from two springs, or eyes, to speak in the language of the country, the same word in Arabick signifying eye and fountain. These springs are thirty paces from one another, each as large as one of our wells or a coach-wheel. The Nile is increased with many rivulets which run into it; and after passing through Ethiopia in a meandrous course, flows at last into Egypt.

2. *The cataracts of the Nile.*

That name is given to some parts of the Nile, where the water falls down from the steep rocks*. This river, which at first glided smoothly along the vast deserts of Ethiopia, before it enters Egypt, passes by the cataracts. Then growing on a sudden, contrary to its nature, raging and violent in those places where it is pent up and restrained; after having at last broke through all obstacles in its way, it precipitates from the top of some rocks to the bottom, with so loud a noise, that it is heard three leagues off.

The

* Excipiunt eum (Nilum) cataractæ, nobilis insigni spectaculo locus. — Illic excitatis primum aquis, quas sine tumultu leni alveo duxerat, violentus & torrens per malignos transitus profluit, dissimilis sibi — tandemque eluctatus obstantia, in vastam altitudinem subito destitutus cadit, cum ingenti circumjacentium regionum strepitu; quem perferre gens ibi a Persis collocata non potuit, obtusis assiduo fragore auribus, & ob hoc sedibus ad quietiora translatis, inter miracula fluminis incredibilem incolarum audaciam accepi. Bini parvula navigia conscendunt, quorum

alter navem regit, alter exhaurit. Deinde multum inter rapidam insaniam Nili & reciprocos fluctus volutati, tandem tenuissimos canales tenent, per quos angustas rupium effugiunt: & cum toto flumine effusi navigium ruens manu temperant, magnoque spectantium metu in caput nixi, tum jam adploraveris, merfisque atque obrutos tanta mole credideris, longe ab eo in quem ceciderant loco navigant, tormenti modo missi. Nec mergit cadens unda, sed planis aquis tradit. *Senec. Nat. Quæst.* l. iv. c. 2.

The inhabitants of the country, accustomed by long practice to this sport, exhibit here a spectacle to travellers that is more terrifying than diverting. Two of them go into a little boat; the one to guide it, the other to throw out the water. After having long sustained the violence of the raging waves, by managing their little boat very dexterously, they suffer themselves to be carried away with the impetuous torrent as swift as an arrow. The affrighted spectator imagines they are going to be swallowed up in the precipice down which they fall; when the Nile, restored to its natural course discovers them again, at a considerable distance, on its smooth and calm waters. This is Seneca's account, which is confirmed by our modern travellers.

3. *Causes of the inundations of the Nile.*

(x) The ancients have invented many subtle reasons for the Nile's great increase, as may be seen in Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Seneca. But it is now no longer a matter of dispute, it being almost universally allowed, that the inundations of the Nile are owing to the great rains which fall in Ethiopia, from whence this river flows. These rains swell it to such a degree, that Ethiopia first, and then Egypt, are overflowed; and that which at first was but a large river, rises like a sea, and overspreads the whole country.

(y) Strabo observes, that the ancients only guessed that the inundations of the Nile were owing to the rains which fall in great abundance in Ethiopia; but adds, that several travellers have since been eye-witnesses of it; Ptolemy Philadelphus, who was very curious in all things relating to arts and sciences, having sent thither able persons, purposely to examine this matter, and to ascertain the cause of so uncommon and remarkable an effect.

4. *The*

(x) Herod. l. ii. c. 19 27. Diod. l. i. p. 35—39. Senec. Nat. Quæst. l. iv. c. 1. & 2.

(y) Lib. xviii. p. 789.

4. *The time and continuance of the inundations.*

(z) Herodotus, and after him Diodorus Siculus, and several other authors, declare, that the Nile begins to flow in Egypt at the summer solstice, that is, about the end of June, and continues to rise till the end of September; and then decreases gradually during the months of October and November; after which it returns to its channel, and resumes its wonted course. This account agrees almost with the relations of all the moderns, and is founded in reality on the natural cause of the inundation, viz. the rains which fall in Ethiopia. Now, according to the constant testimony of those who have been on the spot, these rains begin to fall in the month of April, and continue, during five months, till the end of August and beginning of September. The Nile's increase in Egypt must consequently begin three weeks or a month after the rains have begun to fall in Abyssinia; and accordingly travellers observe, that the Nile begins to rise in the month of May, but so slowly at the first, that it probably does not yet overflow its banks. The inundation happens not till about the end of June; and lasts the three following months, according to Herodotus.

I must point out to such as consult the originals, a contradiction in this place between Herodotus and Diodorus on one side; and on the other between Strabo, Pliny, and Solinus. These last shorten very much the continuance of the inundation; and suppose the Nile to draw off from the lands in three months or a hundred days. And that which adds to the difficulty, is, Pliny seems to ground his opinion on the testimony of Herodotus: *In totum autem revocatur Nilus inter ripas in Libra, ut tradit Herodotus centesimo die.* I leave to the learned the reconciling of this contradiction.

5. *The height of the inundations.*

* The just height of the inundation, according to Pliny, is sixteen cubits. When it rises but to twelve or thirteen,

(z) Herod. l. ii. c. 19. Diod. l. i. p. 22.

* Justum incrementum est cubitorum xvi. Minores aquæ non omnia rigant: ampliores detinent tardius recedendo. Hæ ferendi tempora absumunt

thirteen, a famine is threatened; and when it exceeds sixteen there is danger. It must be remembered, that a cubit is a foot and half. (a) The emperor Julian takes notice, in a letter to Ecdicius prefect of Egypt, that the height of the Nile's overflowing was fifteen cubits, the 20th of September, in 362. The ancients do not agree entirely with one another, nor with the moderns, with regard to the height of the inundation; but the difference is not very considerable, and may proceed, 1. from the disparity between the ancient and modern measures, which it is hard to estimate on a fixed and certain foot; 2. from the carelessness of the observators and historians; 3. from the real difference of the Nile's increase, which was not so great the nearer it approached the sea.

(b) As the riches of Egypt depended on the inundation of the Nile, all the circumstances and different degrees of its increase have been carefully considered; and by a long series of regular observations, made during many years, the inundation itself discovered what kind of harvest the ensuing year was likely to produce. The kings had placed at Memphis a measure on which these different increases were marked; and from thence notice was given to all the rest of Egypt, the inhabitants of which knew, by that means, beforehand, what they might fear or promise themselves from the harvest. (c) Strabo speaks of a well on the banks of the Nile near the town of Syene, made for that purpose.

The same custom is observed to this day at Grand Cairo. In the court of a mosque there stands a pillar, on which are marked the degrees of the Nile's increase; and common criers every day proclaim in all parts of the city, how high it is risen. The tribute paid to the grand signor for the lands, is settled by the inundation. The day it rises to such a height, is kept as a grand festival; and solemnized

semunt solo madente: illæ non dant quatuordecim cubita hilaritatem affe-
siente. Utrumque reputat provin-
cia. In duodecim cubitis famem runt, quindecim securitatem, sexde-
sentit, in tredecim etiamnum esurit:
cim delicias. Plin. l. v. c. 9.

(a) Jul. Epist. 50. (b) Diod. l. 1. p. 33. (c) Lib. xvii. p. 817.

solemnized with fire-works, feasting, and all the demonstrations of publick rejoicing; and in the remotest ages, the overflowing of the Nile was always attended with an universal joy throughout all Egypt, that being the fountain of its happiness.

(d) The heathens ascribed the inundation of the Nile to their god Serapis; and the pillar on which was marked the increase, was preserved religiously in the temple of that idol. The emperor Constantine having ordered it to be removed into the church of Alexandria, the Egyptians spread a report, that the Nile would rise no more by reason of the wrath of Serapis; but the river overflowed and increased as usual the following years. Julian the apostate, a zealous protector of idolatry, caused this pillar to be replaced in the same temple, out of which it was again removed by the command of Theodosius.

6. *The canals of the Nile and spiral pumps.*

Divine Providence, in giving so beneficent a river to Egypt, did not thereby intend, that the inhabitants of it should be idle, and enjoy so great a blessing, without taking any pains. One may naturally suppose, that as the Nile could not of itself cover the whole country, great labour was to be used to facilitate the overflowing of the lands; and numberless canals cut, in order to convey the waters to all parts. The villages, which stood very thick on the banks of the Nile on eminences, had each their canals, which were opened at proper times, to let the water into the country. The more distant villages had theirs also, even to the extremities of the kingdom. Thus the waters were successively conveyed to the most remote places. Persons are not permitted to cut the trenches to receive the waters, till the river is at such a height, nor to open them altogether; because otherwise some lands would be too much overflowed, and others not covered enough. They begin with opening them in Upper, and afterwards in Lower Egypt, according to the

rules

(d) Socrat. l. i. c. 18. Sozom. l. v. c. 3.

rules prescribed in a roll or book, in which all the measures are exactly set down. By this means the water is disposed with such care, that it spreads itself over all the lands. The countries overflowed by the Nile are so extensive, and lie so low, and the number of canals so great, that of all the waters which flow into Egypt during the months of June, July, and August, it is believed that not a tenth part of them reaches the sea.

But as, notwithstanding all these canals, there are abundance of high lands which cannot receive the benefit of the Nile's overflowing; this want is supplied by spiral pumps, which are turned with oxen; in order to bring the water into pipes, which convey it to these lands. (e) Diodorus speaks of such an engine (called *Cochlea Egyptia*) invented by Archimedes in his travels into Egypt.

7. *The fertility caused by the Nile.*

There is no country in the world where the soil is more fruitful than in Egypt; which is owing entirely to the Nile*. For whereas other rivers, when they overflow lands, wash away and exhaust their vivific moisture; the Nile, on the contrary, by the excellent slime it brings along with it, fattens and enriches them in such a manner, as sufficiently compensates for what the foregoing harvest had impaired. The husbandman, in this country, never tires himself with holding the plough, or breaking the clods of earth. As soon as the Nile retires, he has nothing to do but to turn up the earth, and temper it with a little sand, in order to lessen its rankness; after which he sows it with great ease, and with little or no expence. Two months after, it is covered with all sorts of corn and pulse. The Egyptians generally sow in October and November, according as the waters draw off, and their harvest is in March and April.

The

(e) Lib. i. p. 30. & lib. v. p. 313.

* Cum cæteri amnes abluant terras & eviscerent; Nilus adeo nihil exedit nec abradit, ut contra adjiciat vires.—Ita juvat agros duabus ex causis, & quod inundat, & quod oblimat. Senec. Nat. Quæst. l. iv. c. 2.

The same land bears, in one year, three or four different kinds of crops. Lettuces and cucumbers are sown first; then corn; and, after harvest, several sorts of pulse which are peculiar to Egypt. As the sun is extremely hot in this country, and rains fall very seldom in it; it is natural to suppose, that the earth would soon be parched, and the corn and pulse burnt up by so scorching a heat, were it not for the canals and reservoirs with which Egypt abounds; and which, by the drains from thence, amply supply wherewith to water and refresh the fields and gardens.

The Nile contributes no less to the nourishment of cattle, which is another source of wealth to Egypt. The Egyptians begin to turn them out to graze in November, and they graze till the end of March. Words could never express how rich their pastures are; and how fat the flocks and herds (which, by reason of the mildness of the air, are out night and day) grow in a very little time. During the inundation of the Nile, they are fed with hay and cut straw, barley and beans, which are their common food.

A man cannot, says (f) Corneille le Bruyn in his Travels, help observing the admirable providence of God to this country, who sends at a fixed season such great quantities of rains in Ethiopia, in order to water Egypt, where a shower of rain scarce ever falls; and who, by that means, causes the driest and most sandy soil, to become the richest and most fruitful country in the universe.

Another thing to be observed here, is that, (as the inhabitants say) in the beginning of June and the four following months, the north-east winds blow constantly, in order to keep back the waters which otherwise would flow too fast; and to hinder them from discharging themselves into the sea, the entrance to which these winds bar up, as it were, from them. The ancients have not omitted this circumstance.

(g) The same providence, whose ways are wonderful and infinitely various, displayed itself after a quite different

(f) Vol. ii.

(g) *Multiformis sapientia, Eph. iii. 10.*

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gent manner in Palestine, in rendering it exceeding fruitful; not by rains, which fell during the course of the year, as is usual in other places; nor by a peculiar inundation like that of the Nile in Egypt; but by sending fixed rains at two seasons, when the people were obedient to God, to make them more sensible of their continual dependence upon him. God himself commands them, by his servant Moses, to make this reflection (*b*). *The land whither thou goest in to possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs: but the land whither ye go to possess it, is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven.* After this, God promises to give his people, so long as they shall continue obedient to him, *the former and the latter rain*: The first in autumn, to bring up the corn; and the second in the spring and summer, to make it grow and ripen.

8. *Two different prospects exhibited by the Nile.*

There cannot be a finer sight than Egypt at two seasons of the year*. For if a man ascends some mountain, or one of the largest pyramids of grand Cairo, in the months of July and August, he beholds a vast sea, in which numberless towns and villages appear, with several causeys leading from place to place; the whole interspersed with groves and fruit-trees, whose tops are only visible, all which forms a delightful prospect. This view is bounded by mountains and woods, which terminate, at the utmost distance the eye can discover, the most beautiful horizon that can be imagined. On the contrary, in winter, that is to say, in the months of January and February, the whole country is like one continued scene of beautiful meadows,

(*b*) Deut. xi. 10—13.

* Illa facies pulcherrima est, cum jam se in agros Nilus ingessit. Latent campi, opertæque sunt valles: oppida insulamur modo extant. Nullum in mediterraneis, nisi per aavigia, com-

mercium est: majorque est lætitia in gentibus, quo minus terrarum suarum vident. Senec. Nat. Quæst. l. iv. c. 2.

meadows, whose verdure, enamelled with flowers, charms the eye. The spectator beholds, on every side, flocks and herds dispersed over all the plains, with infinite numbers of husbandmen and gardeners. The air is then perfumed by the great quantity of blossoms on the orange, lemon, and other trees; and is so pure, that a wholesomer or more agreeable is not found in the world; so that nature, being then dead as it were, in all other climates, seems to be alive only for so delightful an abode.

9. *The canal formed by the Nile, by which a communication is made between the two seas.*

(i) The canal, by which a communication was made between the Red-Sea and the Mediterranean, ought to have a place here, as it was not one of the least advantages which the Nile procured Egypt. Sesostris, or according to others, Psammetichus, first projected the design, and begun this work. Nechio, successor to the last prince, laid out immense sums upon it, and employed a prodigious number of men. It is said, that above six score thousand Egyptians perished in the undertaking. He gave it over, terrified by an oracle, which told him that he would thereby open a door for Barbarians (for by this name they called all foreigners) to enter Egypt. The work was continued by Darius, the first of that name; but he also desisted from it, upon his being told, that as the Red-Sea lay higher than Egypt, it would drown the whole country. But it was at last finished under the Ptolemies, who, by the help of sluices, opened or shut the canal as there was occasion. It began not far from the Delta, near the town of Bubaste. It was an hundred cubits, that is, twenty-five fathoms broad, so that two vessels might pass with ease; it had depth enough to carry the largest ships; and was above a thousand stadia, that is, above fifty leagues long. This canal was of great service to the trade of Egypt. But it is now almost filled up, and there are scarce any remains of it to be seen.

CHAP.

(i) Herod. l. i. c. 158. Strab. l. xvii. p. 804. Plin. l. xvii. c. 29. Diod. l. i. p. 29.

CHAP. III.

LOWER EGYPT.

I AM now to speak of Lower Egypt. Its shape, which resembles a triangle or Δ , gave occasion to its bearing the latter name, which is that of one of the Greek letters. Lower Egypt forms a kind of island; it begins at the place where the Nile is divided into two large canals, through which it empties itself into the Mediterranean: The mouth on the right-hand is called the Pelusian, and the other the Canopic, from two cities in their neighbourhood, Pelusium and Canopus, now called Damietta and Rosetta. Between these two large branches, there are five others of less note. This island is the best cultivated, the most fruitful, and the richest in Egypt. Its chief cities (very anciently) were Heliopolis, Heracleopolis, Naucratis, Sais, Tanis, Canopus, Pelusium; and, in latter times, Alexandria, Nicopolis, &c. It was in the country of Tanis that the Israelites dwelt.

(k) There was at Sais, a temple dedicated to Minerva, who is supposed to be the same as Isis, with the following inscription: *I am whatever hath been, and is, and shall be; and no mortal hath yet pierced through the veil that shrouds me.*

(l) Heliopolis, that is, the city of the sun, was so called from a magnificent temple there dedicated to that planet. Herodotus, and other authors after him, relate some particulars concerning the Phoenix and this temple, which, if true, would indeed be very wonderful. Of this kind of birds, if we may believe the ancients, there is never but one at a time in the world. He is brought forth in Arabia, lives five or six hundred years, and is of the size of an eagle. His head is adorned with a shining and most beautiful crest; the feathers of his neck are of a gold colour, and the rest of a purple, his tail is white, intermixt

(k) Plutar. in Isid. p. 354.

(l) Strab. l. xvii. p. 805. Herod. l. ii. c. 73. Plin. x. c. 2. Tacit. Ann. l. vi. c. 28.

intermixt with red, and his eyes sparkling like stars. When he is old, and finds his end approaching, he builds a nest with wood and aromattick spices, and then dies. Of his bones and marrow, a worm is produced, out of which another Phoenix is formed. His first care is to solemnize his parent's obsequies, for which purpose he makes up a ball in the shape of an egg, with abundance of perfumes of myrrh as heavy as he can carry, which he often essays before-hand; then he makes a hole in it, where he deposits his parent's body, and closes it carefully with myrrh and other perfumes. After this he takes up the precious load on his shoulders, and flying to the altar of the sun, in the city of Heliopolis, he there burns it.

Herodotus and Tacitus dispute the truth of some of the circumstances of this account, but seem to suppose it true in general. Pliny, on the contrary, in the very beginning of his account of it, insinuates plainly enough, that he looks upon the whole as fabulous; and this is the opinion of all modern authors.

This ancient tradition, though grounded on an evident falsehood, hath yet introduced into almost all languages, the custom of giving the name of phoenix to whatever is singular and uncommon in its kind: *Rara avis in terris*, (*m*) says Juvenal, speaking of the difficulty of finding an accomplished woman in all respects. And Seneca observes the same of a good man.*

What is reported of the swans, viz. that they never sing but in their expiring moments, and that then they warble very melodiously, is likewise grounded merely on a vulgar error: and yet it is used, not only by the poets, but also by the orators, and even the philosophers, *mutis quoque piscibus donatura cycni, si libeat, sonum*, (*n*) says Horace to Melpomene. Cicero compares the excellent discourse which Crassus made in the senate, a few days before his death, to the melodious singing of a dying swan. *Illa tanquam cycnea fuit divini hominis vox*

(*m*) Sat. vi.

(*n*) Od. iii. l. iv.

* Vir bonus tam cito nec fieri Phoenix, semel anno quingentesimo potest, nec intelligi—tanquam nascitur. Ep. 42.

oratio. De Orat. l. iii. n. 6. And Socrates used to say, that good men ought to imitate swans, who perceiving by a secret instinct, and a divination, what advantage there is in death, die singing and with joy. *Providentes quid in morte boni sit, cum cantu & voluptate moriuntur.* Tusc. Qu. l. i. n. 73. I thought this short digression might be of service to youth, and return now to my subject.

It was in (o) Heliopolis, that an ox, under the name of Mnevis, was worshipped as a god. Cambyfes, king of Persia, exercised his sacrilegious rage on this city; burning the temples, demolishing the palaces, and destroying the most precious monuments of antiquity in it. There are still to be seen some obelisks which escaped his fury; and others were brought from thence to Rome, to which city they are an ornament even at this day.

Alexandria, built by Alexander the Great, from whom it had its name, vied almost in magnificence with the ancient cities of Egypt. It stands four days journey from Cairo, and was formerly the chief mart of all the eastern trade. (p) The merchandises were unloaded at Portus Muris *, a town on the western coast of the Red-Sea; from whence they were brought upon camels to a town of Thebais, called Copht, and conveyed down the Nile to Alexandria, whither merchants resorted from all parts.

It is well known, that the East-India trade hath at all times enriched those who carried it on. This was the chief fountain of the vast treasures that Solomon amassed, and which enabled him to build the magnificent temple of Jerusalem. (q) David by his conquering Idumæa, became master of Elath and Esiongeber, two towns situated on the eastern shore of the Red-Sea. From these two ports, (r) Solomon sent fleets to Ophir and Tarshish, which always brought back immense riches†. This traffick

(o) Strab. l. xvii. p. 805. (p) Strab. l. xvi. p. 781.

(q) 2 Sam. viii. 14. (r) 1 Kings ix. 26.

* Or Myos Hormos.

† He got, in one voyage 450 Talents of Gold, 2 Chron. viii. 18. hundred and forty thousand pound sterling. Prid. Connect. Vol. I. which amounts to three millions, two ad ann. 740. not.

traffic after having been enjoyed some time by the Syrians, who regained Idumæa, shifted from them to the Tyrians. (s) These got all their merchandise conveyed, by the way of Rhinocolura, (a sea-port town lying between the confines of Egypt and Palestine) to Tyre, from whence they distributed them all over the western world. Hereby the Tyrians enriched themselves exceedingly, under the Persian empire, by the favour and protection of whose monarchs they had the full possession of this trade. But when the Ptolemies had made themselves masters of Egypt, they soon drew all this trade into their kingdom, by building Berenice and other ports on the western side of the Red-Sea, belonging to Egypt; and fixed their chief mart at Alexandria, which thereby rose to be the city of the greatest trade in the world. There it continued for a great many centuries after; and all the traffick, which the western parts of the world from that time had with Persia, India, Arabia, and the eastern coasts of Africa, was wholly carried on through the Red-Sea and the mouth of the Nile, till a way was discovered, a little above two hundred years since, of sailing to those parts, by the cape of Good Hope. After this, the Portuguese for some time managed this trade; but now it is in a manner engrossed wholly by the English and Dutch. This short account of the East-India trade, from Solomon's time, to the present age, is extracted from Dr. Prideaux (t).

(u) For the conveniency of trade, there was built near Alexandria, in an island called Pharos, a tower which bore the same name. At the top of this tower was kept a fire, to light such ships as sailed by night near those dangerous coasts, which were full of sands and shelves; from whence all other towers, designed for the same use, have been called, as Pharo di Messina, &c. The famous architect Sostratus built it by order of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who expended eight hundred talents upon it *. It was reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world.

(s) Strab. l. xvi. p. 481. (t) Part. I. i. p. 9. (u) Strab. l. xvii. p. 719. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 12.

* Eight hundred thousand crowns, or 180,000*l.* sterling.

world. Some have commended that prince, for permitting the architect to put his name in the inscription which was fixed on the tower instead of his own*. It was very short and plain, according to the manner of the ancients. *Sostratus, Cnidius Dexiphanis F. Diis Servatoribus pro navigantibus. i. e.* Sostratus the Cnidian, son of Dexiphanes, to the protecting deities, for the use of sea-faring people. But certainly Ptolemy must have very much undervalued that kind of immortality which princes are generally very fond of, to suffer, that his name should not be so much as mentioned in the inscription of an edifice so capable of immortalizing him. (x) What we read in Lucian concerning this matter, deprives Ptolemy of a modesty, which indeed would be very ill placed here. This author informs us that Sostratus, to engross the whole glory of that noble structure to himself, caused the inscription with his own name to be carved in the marble, which he afterwards covered with lime, and thereon put the king's name. The lime soon mouldered away; and by that means, instead of procuring the architect the honour with which he had flattered himself, served only to discover to future ages his mean fraud, and ridiculous vanity.

Riches failed not to bring into this city, as they usually do in all places, luxury and licentiousness; so that the Alexandrian voluptuousness became a proverb†. In this city arts and sciences were also industriously cultivated, witness that stately edifice, surnamed the Museum, where the literati used to meet, and were maintained at the publick expence; and the famous library, which was augmented considerably by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and which, by the magnificence of the kings his successors, at last contained seven hundred thousand volumes. (y) In Cæsar's wars with the Alexandrians, part of this library, (situate in the ‡ Bruchion) which consisted of four hundred thousand volumes, was unhappily consumed by fire.

(x) De Scribend. Hist. p. 706. (y) Plut. in Cæs. p. 731. Seneca de tranquill. anim. c. ix.

* Magno animo Ptolemæi regis, quod in ea permisisset Sostrati Cnidii architecti structuræ nomen inscribi. *Plin.*

† Ne Alexandrinis quidem permittenda deliciis. *Quintil.*

‡ A quarter or division of the city of Alexandria.

PART THE SECOND.

Of the MANNERS and CUSTOMS of the EGYPTIANS.

EGYPT was ever considered by all the ancients, as the most renowned school for wisdom and politicks, and the source from whence most arts and sciences were derived. This kingdom bestowed its noblest labours and finest arts on the improving mankind; and Greece was so sensible of this, that its most illustrious men, as Homer, Pythagoras, Plato; even its great legislators, Lycurgus and Solon, with many more whom it is needless to mention, travelled into Egypt, to complete their studies, and draw from that fountain whatever was most rare and valuable in every kind of learning. God himself has given this kingdom a glorious testimony, when praising Moses, he says of him, that (z) *he was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.*

To give some idea of the manners and customs of Egypt, I shall confine myself principally to these particulars: Its kings and government; priests and religion; soldiers and war; sciences, arts, and trades.

The reader must not be surprized, if he sometimes finds, in the customs I take notice of, a kind of contradiction. This circumstance is owing, either to the difference of countries and nations which did not always follow the same usages; or to the different way of thinking of the historians whom I copy.

CHAP. I.

Concerning the KINGS and GOVERNMENT.

THE Egyptians were the first people who rightly understood the rules of government. A nation so grave and serious, immediately perceived that the true

end

(z) Acts vii. 22.

end of politicks is, to make life easy, and a people happy.

The kingdom was hereditary; but according to (a) Diodorius, the Egyptian princes conducted themselves in a different manner from what is usually seen in other monarchies, where the prince acknowledges no other rule of his actions, but his arbitrary will and pleasure. But here, kings were under greater restraint from the laws, than their subjects. They had some particular ones digested by a former monarch that composed part of those books, which the Egyptians called sacred. Thus every thing being settled by ancient custom, they never sought to live in a different way from their ancestors.

No slave or foreigner was admitted into the immediate service of the prince; such a post was too important to be intrusted to any persons, except those who were the most distinguished by their birth, and had received the most excellent education; to the end that as they had the liberty of approaching the king's person, day and night, he might, from men so qualified, hear nothing which was unbecoming the royal majesty; or have any sentiments instilled into him, but such as were of a noble and generous kind. For, adds Diodorus, it is very rarely seen, that kings fly out into any vicious excess, unless those who approach them approve their irregularities, or serve as instruments to their passions.

The kings of Egypt freely permitted, not only the quality and proportion of their eatables and liquids to be prescribed them (a thing customary in Egypt, the inhabitants of which were all sober, and whose air inspired frugality) but even that all their hours, and almost every action, should be under the regulation of the laws.

In the morning at day-break, when the head is clearest, and the thoughts most unperplexed, they read the several letters they received; to form a more just and distinct idea of the affairs which were to come under their consideration that day.

As soon as they were dressed, they went to the daily sacrifice performed in the temple; where, surrounded

K 2

with

(a) Diod. l. i. p. 63, &c.

with their whole court, and the victims placed before the altar, they assisted at the prayer pronounced aloud by the high-priest, in which he asked of the gods, health and all other blessings for the king, because he governed his people with clemency and justice, and made the laws of his kingdom the rule and standard of his actions. The high-priest entered into a long detail of his virtues; observing that he was religious to the gods, affable to men, moderate, just, magnanimous, sincere; an enemy to falsehood; liberal, master of his passions; punishing crimes with the utmost lenity, but boundless in rewarding merit. He next spoke of the faults which kings might be guilty of; but supposed at the same time, that they never committed any, except by surprize or ignorance; and loaded with imprecations such of their ministers as gave them ill counsel, and suppressed or disguised the truth. Such were the methods of conveyeng instruction to their kings. It was thought that reproaches would only sour their tempers; and that the most effectual method to inspire them with virtue, would be to point out to them their duty in praises conformable to the sense of the laws, and pronounced in a solemn manner before the gods. After the prayers and sacrifice were ended, the counsels and actions of great men were read to the king out of the sacred books, in order that he might govern his dominions according to their maxims, and maintain the laws which had made his predecessors and their subjects so happy.

I have already observed, that the quantity as well as quality of both eatables and liquids were prescribed, by the laws, to the king: His table was covered with nothing but the most common meats; because eating in Egypt was designed, not to tickle the palate, but to satisfy the cravings of nature. One would have concluded (observes the historian) that these rules had been laid down by some able physician, who was attentive only to the health of the prince, rather than by a legislator. The same simplicity was seen in all other things; and we read in (*b*) Plutarch, of a temple in Thebes, which had one of its pillars inscribed with imprecations

against

(*b*) De Isid. & Osir. p. 354.

against that king, who first introduced profusion and luxury into Egypt.

The principal duty of kings, and their most essential function, is the administering justice to their subjects. Accordingly, the kings of Egypt cultivated more immediately this duty; convinced that on this depended not only the ease and comfort of the several individuals, but the happiness of the state; which would be an herd of robbers rather than a kingdom, should the weak be unprotected, and the powerful enabled by their riches and credit, to commit crimes with impunity.

Thirty judges were selected out of the principal cities, to form a body or assembly for judging the whole kingdom. The Prince, in filling these vacancies, chose such as were most renowned for their honesty; and put at their head, him who was most distinguished for his knowledge and love of the laws, and was had in the most universal esteem. By his bounty, they had revenues assigned them, to the end that being freed from domestick cares, they might devote their whole time to the execution of the laws. Thus honourably subsisted by the generosity of the prince, they administered justice gratuitously to the people, who have a natural right to it; among whom it ought to have a free circulation, and in some sense, among the poor more than the rich, because the latter find a support within themselves; whereas the very condition of the former exposes them more to injuries; and therefore calls louder for the protection of the laws. To guard against surprize, affairs were transacted by writing in the assemblies of these judges. That species of eloquence (a false kind) was dreaded, which dazzles the mind, and moves the passions. Truth could not be expressed with too much plainness, as it was to have the only sway in judgments; because in that alone the rich and poor, the powerful and weak, the learned and the ignorant, were to find relief and security. The president of this senate wore a collar of gold set with precious stones, at which hung a figure represented blind, this being called the emblem of truth. When the president put

this collar on, it was understood as a signal to enter upon business. He touched the party with it, who was to gain his cause, and this was the form of passing sentence.

The most excellent circumstance in the laws of the Egyptians, was, that every individual, from his infancy, was nurtured in the strictest observance of them. A new custom in (c) Egypt was a kind of miracle. All things there ran in the old channel; and the exactness with which little matters were adhered to, preserved those of more importance; and indeed no nation ever preserved their laws and customs longer than the Egyptians.

Wilful murder was punished with (d) death, whatever might be the condition of the murdered person, whether he was free-born or otherwise. In this the humanity and equity of the Egyptians was superior to that of the Romans, who gave the master an absolute power as to life and death over his slave. The emperor Adrian indeed abolished this law; from an opinion, that an abuse of this nature ought to be reformed, let its antiquity or authority be ever so great.

(e) Perjury was also punished with death, because that crime attacks both the gods, whose majesty is trampled upon by invoking their name to a false oath; and men in breaking the strongest tie of human society, viz. sincerity and honesty.

(f) The false accuser was condemned to undergo the punishment, which the person accused was to have suffered, had the accusation been proved.

(g) He who had neglected or refused to save a man's life when attacked, if it was in his power to assist him, was punished as rigorously as the assassin: But if the unfortunate person could not be succoured, the offender was at least to be impeached, and penalties were decreed for any neglect of this kind. Thus the subjects were a guard and protection to one another; and the whole body of the community united against the designs of the bad.

(h) No

(c) Plut. in Tim. p. 656.
(f) Idem.

(g) Idem.

(d) Diod. l. i. p. 70.

(e) Pag. 63.

(b) No man was allowed to be useless to the state; but every man was obliged to enter his name and place of abode in a publick register, that remained in the hands of the magistrate, and to annex his profession, and in what manner he lived. If such a one gave a false account of himself, he was immediately put to death.

(i) To prevent borrowing of money, the parent of sloth, frauds, and chicane, king Asychis made a very judicious law. The wisest and best regulated states, as Athens and Rome, ever found insuperable difficulties, in contriving a just medium, to restrain, on one hand, the cruelty of the creditor in the exaction of his loan; and on the other, the knavery of the debtor, who refused or neglected to pay his debts. Now Egypt took a wise course on this occasion; and without doing any injury to the personal liberty of its inhabitants, or ruining their families, pursued the debtor with incessant fears of infamy from his dishonesty. No man was permitted to borrow money without pawning to the creditor the body of his father, which every Egyptian embalmed with great care; and kept reverentially in his house (as will be observed in the sequel) and therefore might be easily moved from one place to another. But it was equally impious and infamous not to redeem soon so precious a pledge; and he who died without having discharged this duty, was deprived of the customary honours paid to the dead*.

(k) Diodorus remarks an error committed by some of the Grecian legislators. They forbid, for instance, the taking away (to satisfy debts) the horses, ploughs, and other implements of husbandry employed by peasants; judging it inhuman to reduce, by this security, these poor men to an impossibility of discharging their debts,

K 4

and

(b) Diod. l. i. p. 69. (i) Herod. l. ii. c. 136. (k) Diod. l. i. p. 71.

* This law put the whole sepulchre of the debtor into the power of the creditor, who removed to his own house the body of the father: The debtor refusing to discharge his obligation, was to be deprived of burial, either in his father's sepulchre or any

other; and whilst he lived, he was not permitted to bury any person descended from him. Μηδὲ αὐτῷ ἐκείῳ τελευτήσαντι εἶναι ταφῆς κυρῆσαι — μηδ' ἄλλον μηδὲνα τὸν ἐαυτοῦ ἀπογε- ἰόμενον ταΐσαι Herod.

and getting their bread: But at the same time they permitted the creditor to imprison the peasants themselves; who only were capable of using these implements; which exposed them to the same inconveniences, and at the same time deprived the government of persons who belonged, and are necessary to it; who labour for the publick emolument, and over whose person no private man has any right.

(*l*) Polygamy was allowed in Egypt, except to priests, who could marry but one woman. Whatever was the condition of the woman, whether she was free or a slave, her children were deemed free and legitimate.

(*m*) One custom that was practised in Egypt, shewed the profound darkness into which such nations as were most celebrated for their wisdom have been plunged; and this was the marriage of brothers with their sisters, which was not only authoris'd by the laws, but even, in some measure, was a part of their religion, from the example and practice of such of their gods, as had been the most anciently and universally adored in Egypt, that is, Osiris and Isis.

(*n*) A very great respect was there paid to old age. The young were obliged to rise up for the old, and on every occasion, to resign to them the most honourable seat. The Spartans borrowed this law from the Egyptians.

The virtue in the highest esteem among the Egyptians, was gratitude. The glory which has been given them of being the most grateful of all men, shews that they were the best formed of any nation, for social life. Benefits are the band of concord both publick and private. He who acknowledges favours, loves to do good to others; and in banishing ingratitude, the pleasure of doing good remains so pure and engaging, that it is impossible for a man to be insensible of it: But no kind of gratitude gave the Egyptians a more pleasing satisfaction, than that which was paid to their kings. Princes, whilst living, were by them honoured as so many visible representations of

(*l*) Diod. l. i. p. 72.

(*m*) Idem. p. 22.

(*n*) Herod. l. ii. c. 29.

of the deity; and after their death were mourned as the fathers of their country. These sentiments of respect and tenderness proceeded from a strong persuasion, that the divinity himself had placed them upon the throne, as he distinguished them so greatly from all other mortals; and that kings bore the most noble characteristics of the Supreme Being, as the power and will of doing good to others were united in their persons.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the PRIESTS *and* RELIGION *of the* EGYPTIANS.

PRIESTS, in Egypt, held the second rank to kings. They had great privileges and revenues; their lands were exempted from all imposts; of which some traces are seen in Genesis, where it is said, *(o)* *Joseph made it a law over the land of Egypt, that Pharaoh should have the fifth part, except the land of the priests only, which became not Pharaoh's.*

The prince usually honoured them with a large share in his confidence and government, because they, of all his subjects, had received the best education, had acquired the greatest knowledge, and were most strongly attached to the king's person and the good of the publick. They were at one and the same time the depositaries of religion and of the sciences; and to this circumstance was owing the great respect which was paid them by the natives as well as foreigners, by whom they were alike consulted upon the most sacred things relating to the mysteries of religion, and the most profound subjects in the several sciences.

(p) The Egyptians pretend to be the first institutors of festivals and processions in honour of the gods. One festival was celebrated in the city of Bubastis, where persons resorted from all parts of Egypt, and upwards of

K 5

seventy

(o) Gen. xlvii. 26.

(p) Herod. l. ii. c. 60.

seventy thousand, besides children, were seen at it. Another, surnamed the feast of the lights, was solemnized at Sais. All persons, throughout Egypt, who did not go to Sais, were obliged to illuminate their windows.

(*g*) Different animals were sacrificed in different countries; but one common and general ceremony was observed in all sacrifices, *viz.* the laying of hands upon the head of the victim, loading it at the same time with imprecations: and praying the gods to divert upon that victim, all the calamities which might threaten Egypt.

(*r*) It is to Egypt, that Pythagoras owed his favourite doctrine of the Metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls. The Egyptians believed, that at the death of men, their souls transmigrated into other human bodies; and that, if they had been vicious, they were imprisoned in the bodies of unclean or unhappy beasts, to expiate in them their past transgressions; and that after a revolution of some centuries, they again animated other human bodies.

The priests had the possession of the sacred books which contained, at large, the principles of government, as well as the mysteries of divine worship. Both (*s*) were commonly involved in symbols and enigmas, which under these veils, made truth more venerable, and excited more strongly the curiosity of men. The figure of Harpocrates, in the Egyptian sanctuaries, with his finger upon his mouth, seemed to intimate, that mysteries were there inclosed, the knowledge of which was revealed to very few. The sphinxes, placed at the entrance of all temples, implied the same. It is very well known, that pyramids, obelisks, pillars, statues, in a word, all public monuments, were usually adorned with hieroglyphicks, that is, with symbolical writings; whether these were characters unknown to the vulgar, or figures of animals, which couched a hidden and parabolical meaning. (*t*) Thus, by a hare, was signified a lively and piercing

(*g*) Herod. l. ii. c. 39.
Ohr. p. 354.

(*r*) Diod. l. i. p. 88.

(*s*) Plut de Isid. &

(*t*) Plut, Sympof. l. iv. p. 670.

piercing attention, because this creature has a very delicate hearing. (u) The statue of a judge without hands, and with eyes fixed upon the ground, symbolized the duties of those who were to exercise the judiciary functions.

It would require a volume to treat fully of the religion of the Egyptians. But I shall confine myself to two articles, which form the principal part of the Egyptian religion; and these are the worship of the different deities, and the ceremonies relating to funerals.

SECT. I. *Of the worship of the various DEITIES.*

NEVER were any people more superstitious than the Egyptians; they had a great number of gods, of different orders and degrees, which I shall omit, because they belong more to fable than to history. Among the rest, two were universally adored in that country, and these were Osiris and Isis, which are thought to be the sun and moon; and indeed the worship of those planets gave rise to idolatry.

Besides these gods, the Egyptians worshipped a great number of beasts; as the ox, the dog, the wolf, the hawk, the crocodile, the * ibis, the cat, &c. Many of these beasts were the objects only of the superstition of some particular cities; and whilst a people worshipped one species of animals as gods, their neighbours had the same animal gods in abomination. This was the source of the continual wars which were carried on between one city and another; and this was owing to the false policy of one of their kings, who, to deprive them of the opportunity and means of conspiring against the state, endeavoured to amuse them, by engaging them in religious contests. I call this a false and mistaken policy, because it directly thwarts the true spirit of government, the aim of which is, to unite all its members in the strictest ties, and to make all its strength consist, in the perfect harmony of its several parts.

K 6.

Every

(u) *Id. de Isis.* 355.

* *Or Egyptian hawk.*

Every nation had a great zeal for their gods. *Among us*, says (x) Cicero, it is very common to see temples robbed, and statues carried off; but it was never known, that any person in Egypt ever abused a crocodile, an ibis, a cat; for its inhabitants would have suffered the most extreme torments, rather than be guilty of such sacrilege. (y) It was death for any person to kill one of these animals voluntarily; and even a punishment was decreed against him, who should have killed an ibis, or a cat, with, or without design. (z) Diodorus relates an incident, to which he himself was an eye-witness, during his stay in Egypt. A Roman having inadvertently, and without design, killed a cat; the exasperated populace ran to his house; and neither the authority of the king, who immediately detached a body of his guards, nor the terror of the Roman name, could rescue the unfortunate criminal. And such was the reverence which the Egyptians had for these animals, that in an extreme famine they chose to eat one another, rather than feed upon their imagined deities.

(a) Of all these animals, the bull Apis, called Epaphus by the Greeks, was the most famous. Magnificent temples were erected to him; extraordinary honours were paid him while he lived, and still greater after his death. Egypt went then into a general mourning. His obsequies were solemnized with such a pomp as is hardly credible. In the reign of Ptolemy Eagus, the bull Apis dying of old age*, the funeral pomp, besides the ordinary expences, amounted to upwards of fifty thousand French crowns†. After the last honours had been paid to [the deceased god, the next care was to provide him a successor, and all Egypt was sought thro' for that purpose. He

(x) De nat. Deor. l. i. n. 82. Tusc. Quæst. 7. v. n. 78.

(y) Herod. l. ii. c. 65. (z) Diod. l. i. p. 74. 75. (a) Herod. l. iii. c. 27, &c. p. 76. Diod. l. i. Plin. l. viii. c. 46.

* Pliny affirms, that he was not allowed to exceed a certain term of years; and was drowned in the priests' well. Non est fas cum cer-
tos vitæ excedere annos, mersumque in sacerdotum fonta enecant. Nat. Hist. l. viii. c. 46.

† Above 11250 l. Sterling.

He was known by certain signs, which distinguished him from all other animals of that species; upon his forehead, was to be a white spot, in form of a crescent; on his back, the figure of an eagle; upon his tongue that of a beetle. As soon as he was found, mourning gave place to joy; and nothing was heard, in all parts of Egypt, but festivals and rejoicings. The new god was brought to Memphis, to take possession of his dignity, and there installed with a great number of ceremonies. The reader will find hereafter, that Cambyfes, at his return from his unfortunate expedition against Ethiopia, finding all the Egyptians in transports of joy for their new god Apis, and imagining that this was intended as an insult upon his misfortunes, killed, in the first starts of his fury, the young bull, who by that means had but a short enjoyment of his divinity.

It is plain, that the golden calf set up near mount Sinai by the Israelites, was owing to their abode in Egypt, and an imitation of the god Apis; as well as those which were afterwards set up by Jeroboam, (who had resided a considerable time in Egypt) in the two extremities of the kingdom of Israel.

The Egyptians, not contented with offering incense to animals, carried their folly to such an excess, as to ascribe a divinity to the pulse and roots of their gardens. For this they are ingeniously reproached by the satyrist.

** Who has not heard where Egypt's realms are nam'd,
What monster gods her frantick sons have fram'd?
Here Ibis gorg'd with well-grown serpents, there
The Crocodile commands religious fear:
Where Memnon's statue magick firings inspire
With vocal sounds, that emulate the lyre;*

And

** Quis nescit, Volusi Bythinice, qualiademens
Ægyptus portenta colat? Crocodilon adorat:
Pars hæc: illa pavet saturam serpentibus Ibin.
Effigies sacri nitet aurea cercopitheci,
Dimidio magicæ resonant ubi Memnone chordæ,
Atque vetus Thebe centum jacet obruta portis.*

Ille

And Thebes, such fate, are thy disastrous turns!
Now prostrate o'er her pompous ruins mourns;
A monkey-god, prodigious to be told!
Strikes the beholder's eye with burnish'd gold:
To godship here blue Triton's scaly herd,
The river progeny is there preferr'd:
Through towns Diana's power neglected lies,
Where to her dogs aspiring temples rise:
And shou'd you leeks or onions eat, no time
Would expiate the sacrilegious crime.
Religious nations sure, and blest abodes,
Where every orchard is o'er-run with gods.

It is astonishing to see a nation, which boasted its superiority above all others with regard to wisdom and learning, thus blindly abandon itself to the most gross and ridiculous superstitions. Indeed, to read of animals and vile insects, honoured with religious worship, placed in temples, and maintained with great care and at an extravagant expence*; to read, that those who murdered them were punished with death; and that these animals were embalmed, and solemnly deposited in tombs, assigned them by the publick; to hear, that this extravagance was carried to such lengths, as that leeks and onions were acknowledged as deities; were invoked in necessity, and depended upon for succour and protection; are excesses which we, at this distance of time, can scarce believe; and yet they have the evidence of all antiquity. You enter, says (b) Lucian, into a magnificent temple, every part of which glitters with gold and silver. You there look attentively for a god, and are cheated with a stork, an ape,

(b) *Imag.*

Illic cæruleos, hic piscem fluminis, illic
Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam.
Porum & cæpe nefas violare, ac frangere moru.
O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis
Numina!

Juven. Satyr. xv.

* Diodorus affirms, that in his time, the expence amounted to no less than one hundred thousand crowns, or 22500*l.* sterling. Lib. i. p. 76.

ape, or a cat; a just emblem, adds that author, of too many places, the masters of which are far from being the brightest ornaments of them.

(c) Several reasons are given of the worship paid to animals by the Egyptians.

The first is drawn from the fabulous history. It is pretended that the gods, in a rebellion made against them by men, fled into Egypt, and there concealed themselves under the form of different animals; and that this gave birth to the worship, which was afterwards paid to those animals.

The second is taken from the benefit* which these several animals procure to mankind; Oxen by their labour; sheep by their wool and milk; dogs by their service in hunting and guarding houses, whence the god Anubis was represented with a dog's head: The Ibis, a bird very much resembling a stork, was worshipped, because he put to flight the winged serpents, with which Egypt would otherwise have been grievously infested; the crocodile, an amphibious creature, that is, living alike upon land and water, of a surprising strength and size†, was worshipped, because he defended Egypt from the incursions of the wild Arabs; the Ichneumon was adored, because he prevented the too great increase of crocodiles, which might have proved destructive to Egypt. Now the little animal in question does this service to the country two ways. First, it watches the time when the crocodile is absent, and breaks his eggs, but does not eat them. Secondly, when he sleeps upon the banks of the Nile (which he always does with his mouth open) this small animal, which lies concealed in the mud, leaps at once into his mouth; gets down to his entrails, which he gnaws; then piercing his belly, the skin of which is very tender, he escapes with safety; and thus, by his address and

(c) Diod. l. i. p. 77, &c.

* *Ipsi, quid iridentur Ægyptii, Deor. n. 101.*
nullam belluam nisi ob aliquam utilitatem, quam ex ea caperent, consecraverunt. Cic. lib. i. De natura
 † *Which, according to Herodotus, is no more than 17 cubits in length, l. ii. c. 68.*

and subtilty, returns victorious over so terrible an animal.

Philosophers, not satisfied with reasons, which were too trifling to account for such strange absurdities as dishonoured the heathen system, and at which themselves secretly blushed, have, since the establishment of Christianity, supposed a third reason for the worship which the Egyptians paid to animals; and declared, that it was not offered to the animals themselves, but to the gods, of whom they are symbols. (d) Plutarch, in his treatise, where he examines professedly the pretensions of Isis and Osiris, the two most famous deities of the Egyptians, says as follows: "Philosophers honour the image of god wherever they find it, even in inanimate beings, and consequently more in those which have life. We are therefore to approve, not the worshippers of these animals, but those who, by their means, ascend to the deity; they are to be considered as so many mirrors, which nature holds forth, and in which the Supreme Being displays himself in a wonderful manner; or, as so many instruments, which he makes use of to manifest outwardly, his incomprehensible wisdom. Should men therefore, for the embellishing of statues, amass together all the gold and precious stones in the world; the worship must not be referred to the statues, for the deity does not exist in colours artfully disposed, nor in frail matter destitute of sense and motion." (e) Plutarch says in the same treatise, "that as the sun and moon, heaven, earth, and the sea, are common to all men, but have different names according to the difference of nations and languages; in like manner, though there is but one deity, and one providence which governs the universe, and which has several subaltern ministers under it; men give to this deity, which is the same, different names; and pay it different honours, according to the laws and customs of every country."

But

(d) P. 382.

(e) P. 377, & 378.

But were these reflections which offer the most rational vindication possible, of idolatrous worship, sufficient to cover the ridicule of it? Could it be called a railing of the divine attributes in a suitable manner, to direct the worshipper to admire and seek for the image of them in beasts of the most vile and contemptible kinds, as crocodiles, serpents, and cats? Was not this rather degrading and debasing the deity, of whom, even the most stupid, usually entertain a much greater and more august idea?

However, these philosophers were not always so just, as to ascend from sensible beings to their invisible author. The scriptures tell us, that these pretended sages deserved, on account of their pride and ingratitude, to be *(f)* *given over to a reprobate mind; and whilst they professed themselves wise, to become fools, for having changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things.* To shew what man is when left to himself, God permitted that very nation which had carried human wisdom to its greatest height, to be the theatre in which the most ridiculous and absurd idolatry was acted. And, on the other side, to display the almighty power of his grace, he converted the frightful deserts of Egypt into a terrestrial paradise; by peopling them, in the time appointed by his providence, with numberless multitudes of illustrious hermits, whose fervent piety, and rigorous penance, have done so much honour to the Christian religion. I cannot forbear giving here a famous instance of it; and I hope the reader will excuse this kind of digression.

(g) The great wonder of Lower Egypt, says Abbé Fleury in his Ecclesiastical History, was the city of Oxyrinchus, peopled with monks both within and without, so that they were more numerous than its other inhabitants. The publick edifices, and idol temples, had been converted into monasteries, and these likewise were more in number than the private houses.

The

(f) Rom. i. vers. 22, 25.

(g) Tom. v. p. 25, 26.

The monks lodged even over the gates, and in the towers. The people had twelve churches to assemble in, exclusive of the oratories belonging to the monasteries. There were twenty thousand virgins and ten thousand monks in this city, every part of which echoed night and day with the praises of God. By order of the magistrates, centinels were posted at the gates, to take notice of all strangers and poor who came into the city; and those who first received them, were obliged to provide them with all hospitable accommodations.

SECT. II. *The Ceremonies of the Egyptian FUNERALS.*

I Shall now give a concise account of the funeral ceremonies of the Egyptians.

The honours which have been paid in all ages and nations to the bodies of the dead; and the religious care taken to provide sepulchres for them, seem to insinuate an universal persuasion, that bodies were lodged in sepulchres merely as a deposit or trust.

We have already observed, in our mention of the pyramids, with what magnificence sepulchres were built in Egypt; for besides, that they were erected as so many sacred monuments, destined to transmit to future times the memory of great princes; they were likewise considered as the mansions where the body was to remain during a long succession of ages:

Whereas common houses were called inns, in which men were to abide only as travellers, and that during the course of a life which was too short to engage their affections.

When any person in a family died, all the kindred and friends quitted their usual habits, and put on mourning; and abstained from baths, wine, and dainties of every kind. This mourning held forty or seventy days; probably according to the quality of the person.

(i) Bodies were embalmed three different ways. The most magnificent was bestowed on persons of distinguished.

(b) Diod. l. i. p. 47.

(i) Herod. l. ii. c. 85. &c.

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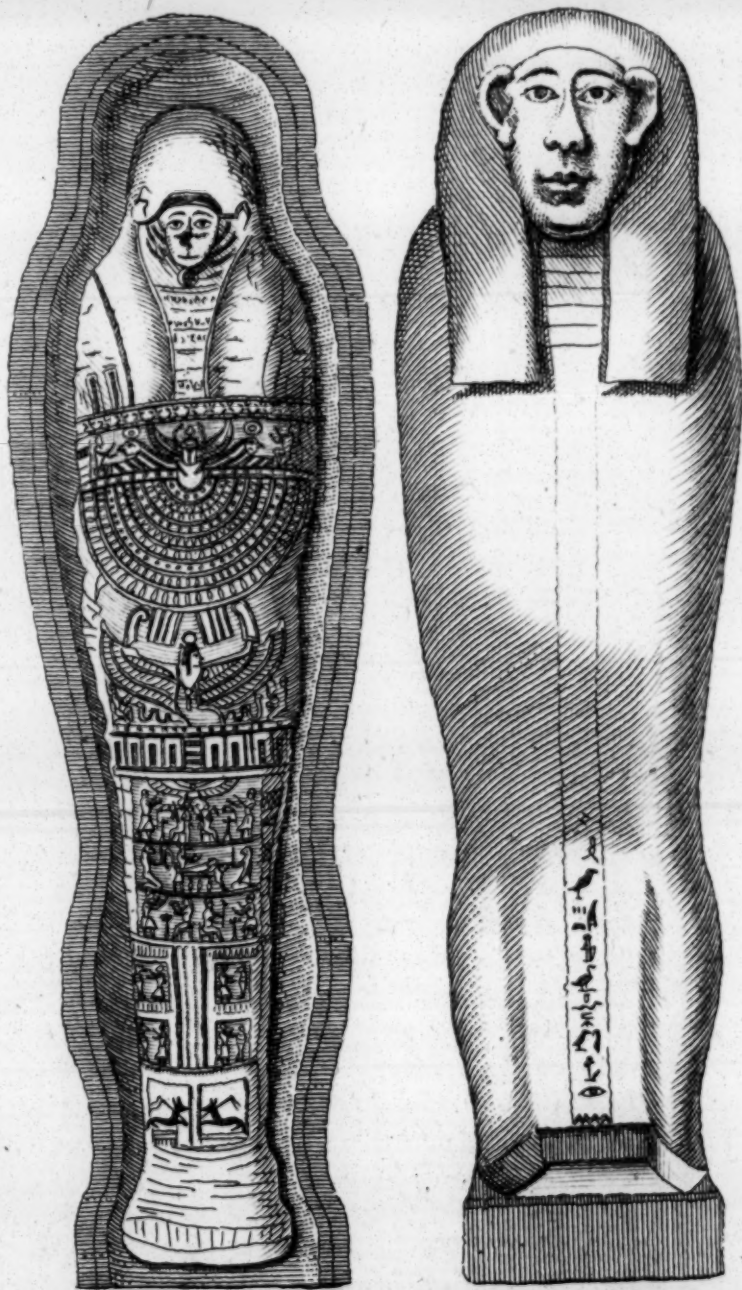
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*An Egyptian Mummy
in the Collection of D^r. Mead.*

Published Feb. 1st 1754 by J. & P. Knapton

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guished rank, and the expence amounted to a talent of silver, or three thousand French livres*.

(k) Many hands were employed in this ceremony. Some drew the brain through the nostrils, by an instrument made for that purpose. Others emptied the bowels and intestines, by cutting a hole in the side, with an Ethiopian stone that was as sharp as a razor; after which the cavities were filled with perfumes and various odoriferous drugs. As this evacuation (which was necessarily attended with some dissections) seemed in some measure cruel and inhuman; the persons employed fled as soon as the operation was over, and were pursued with stones by the standers-by. But those who embalmed the body were honourably treated. They filled it with myrrh, cinnamon, and all sorts of spices. After a certain time, the body was swathed in lawn fillets, which were glued together with a kind of very thin gum, and then crusted them over with the most exquisite perfumes. By this means, it is said, that the entire figure of the body, the very lineaments of the face, and the hair on the lids and eye-brows, were preserved in their natural perfection. The body thus embalmed, was delivered to the relations, who shut it up in a kind of open chest, fitted exactly to the size of the corpse; then they placed it upright against the wall, either in sepulchres, (if they had any,) or in their houses. These embalmed bodies are now what we call Mummies, which are still brought from Egypt, and are found in the cabinets of the curious. This shews the care which the Egyptians took of their dead. Their gratitude to their deceased relations was immortal. Children, by seeing the bodies of their ancestors thus preserved, recalled to mind those virtues for which the publick had honoured them; and were excited to a love of those laws which such excellent persons had left for their security. We find that part of these ceremonies were performed in the funeral honours done to Joseph in Egypt.

I have

(k) Diod. l. i. p. 81.

* About 137*l.* 10*s.* sterling.

I have said that the publick recognized the virtues of deceased persons, because that, before they could be admitted into the sacred asylum of the tomb, they underwent a solemn trial. And this circumstance in the Egyptian funerals, is one of the most remarkable to be found in ancient history.

It was a consolation among the heathens, to a dying man, to leave a good name behind him; and they imagined that this is the only human blessing of which death cannot deprive us. But the Egyptians would not suffer praises to be bestowed indiscriminately on all deceased persons. This honour was to be obtained only from the publick voice. The assembly of the judges met on the other side of a lake which they crossed in a boat. He who sat at the helm was called Charon, in the Egyptian language; and this first gave the hint to Orpheus, who had been in Egypt, and after him, to the other Greeks, to invent the fiction of Charon's boat. As soon as a man was dead, he was brought to his trial. The publick accuser was heard. If he proved that the deceased had led a bad life, his memory was condemned, and he was deprived of burial. The people were affected with laws, which extended even beyond the grave; and every one, struck with the disgrace inflicted on the dead person, was afraid to reflect dishonour on his own memory, and that of his family. But if the deceased person was not convicted of any crime, he was interred in an honourable manner.

A still more astonishing circumstance, in this publick inquest upon the dead, was, that the throne itself was no protection from it. Kings were spared during their lives, because the publick peace was concerned in this forbearance; but their quality did not exempt them from the judgment passed upon the dead, and even some of them were deprived of sepulture. This custom was imitated by the Israelites. We see, in scripture, that bad things were not interred in the monuments of their ancestors. This practice suggested to princes, that if their majesty placed them out of the reach of mens' judgment, while they were
alive

alive, they would at last be liable to it, when death should reduce them to a level with their subjects.

When therefore a favourable judgment was pronounced on a deceased person, the next thing was to proceed to the ceremonies of interment. In his panegyrick, no mention was made of his birth, because every Egyptian was deemed noble. No praises were considered as just or true, but such as related to the personal merit of the deceased. He was applauded for having received an excellent education in his younger years; and in his more advanced age, for having cultivated piety towards the gods, justice towards men, gentleness, modesty, moderation, and all other virtues which constitute the good man. Then all the people shouted, and bestowed the highest eulogiums on the deceased, as one who would be received, for ever, into the society of the virtuous in Pluto's kingdom.

To conclude this article of the ceremonies of funerals, it may not be amiss to observe to young pupils, the different manners with which the bodies of the dead were treated by the ancients. Some, as we observed of the Egyptians, exposed them to view after they had been embalmed, and thus preserved them to after-ages. Others, as particularly the Romans, burnt them on a funeral pile; and others again, laid them in the earth.

The care to preserve bodies without lodging them in tombs, appears injurious to human nature in general, and to those persons in particular for whom this respect is designed; because it exposes too visibly their wretched state and deformity; since whatever care may be taken, spectators see nothing but the melancholy and frightful remains of what they once were. The custom of burning dead bodies has something in it cruel and barbarous, in destroying so hastily the remains of persons once dear to us. That of interment is certainly the most ancient and religious. It restores to the earth what had been taken from it; and prepares our belief of a second restitution of our bodies, from that dust of which they were at first formed.

CHAP. III.

Of the Egyptian SOLDIERS and WAR.

THE profession of arms was in great repute among the Egyptians. After the sacerdotal families, the most illustrious, as with us, were those devoted to a military life. They were not only distinguished by honours, but by ample liberalities. Every foldier was allowed an Aroura, that is, a piece of arable land very near answering to half a French acre*, exempt from all tax or tribute. Besides this privilege, each soldier received a daily allowance of five pounds of bread, two of flesh, and a pint of wine†. This allowance was sufficient to support part of their family. Such an indulgence made them more affectionate to the person of their prince, and the interests of their country, and more resolute in the defence of both; and as (l) Diodorus observes, it was thought inconsistent with good policy, and even common sense, to commit the defence of a country, to men who had no interest in its preservation.

(m) Four hundred thousand soldiers were kept in continual pay; all natives of Egypt, and trained up in the exactest discipline. They were inured to the fatigues of war, by a severe and rigorous education. There is an art of forming the body as well as the mind. This art, lost by our sloth, was well known to the ancients, and especially to the Egyptians. Foot, horse, and chariot races, were performed in Egypt with wonderful agility, and the world could not shew better

(l) Lib. i. p. 67.

(m) Herod. l. ii. c. 164. 168.

* Twelve Aouras. An Egyptian Aroura was 10000 square cubits, equal to three roods, two perches, 55½ square feet of our measure.

† The Greek is, οὐον τίσσας; αἰνῆτες; which some have made to signify a determinate quantity of wine, or any other liquid; others,

regarding the etymology of the word αἰνῆτες, have translated it by haustum a bucket, as Lucretius, lib. v. 51. others by haustus a draught or sup. Herodotus says, this allowance was given only to the two thousand guards, who attended annually on the kings. Lib. ii. c. 168.

better horse-men than the Egyptians. (n) The scripture in several places speaks advantageously of their cavalry.

Military laws were easily preserved in Egypt, because sons received them from their fathers; the profession of war, as all others, being transmitted from father to son.

(o) Those who fled in battle, or discovered any signs of cowardice, were only distinguished by some particular mark of ignominy; it being thought more adviseable to restrain them by motives of honour, than by the terrors of punishment,

But notwithstanding this, I will not pretend to say, that the Egyptians were a warlike people. It is of little advantage to have regular and well-paid troops; to have armies exercised in peace, and employed only in mock fights; it is war alone, and real combats, which form the soldier. Egypt loved peace, because it loved justice, and maintained soldiers only for its security. Its inhabitants, content with a country which abounded in all things, had no ambitious dreams of conquest. The Egyptians extended their reputation in a very different manner, by sending colonies into all parts of the world, and with them laws and politeness. They triumphed by the wisdom of their counsels, and the superiority of their knowledge; and this empire of the mind appeared more noble and glorious to them, than that which is achieved by arms and conquest. But nevertheless, Egypt has given birth to illustrious conquerors, as will be observed hereafter, when we come to treat of its Kings.

CHAP. IV.

Of their ARTS and SCIENCES,

THE Egyptians had an inventive genius, and turned it to profitable speculations. Their Mercuries filled Egypt with wonderful inventions, and left it almost ignorant of nothing which could accomplish the mind, or procure

(n) Cant. i. 8. Isa. xxxvi. 9.

(o) Diod. p. 70.

procure ease and happiness. The discoverers of any useful invention received, both living and dead, rewards equal to their profitable labours. It is this consecrated the books of their two Mercuries, and stamped them with a divine authority. The first libraries were in Egypt; and the titles they bore, inspired the reader with an eager desire to enter them, and dive into the secrets they contained. They were called the * *office for the diseases of the soul*, and that very justly, because the soul was there cured of ignorance, the most dangerous and the parent of all her maladies.

As their country was level, and the air of it always serene and unclouded, they were some of the first who observed the courses of the planets. These observations led them to regulate the year † from the course of the sun; for as Diodorus observes, their year, from the most remote antiquity, was composed of three hundred sixty-five days and six hours. To adjust the property of their lands, which were every year covered by the overflowing of the Nile, they were obliged to have recourse to surveys; and this first taught them geometry. They were great observers of nature, which, in a climate so serene, and under so intense a sun, was vigorous and fruitful.

By this study and application they invented or improved the science of physic. The sick were not abandoned to the arbitrary will and caprice of the physician. He was obliged to follow fixed rules, which were the observations of old and experienced practitioners, and written in the sacred books. While these rules were observed, the physician was not answerable for the success; otherwise

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* $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta\varsigma\ \lambda\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\upsilon\upsilon$.

† It will not seem surprising that the Egyptians, who were the most ancient observers of the celestial motions, should have arrived to this knowledge; when it is considered, that the lunar year, made use of by the Greeks and Romans, though it appears so inconvenient and irregular, supposed nevertheless a knowledge of the solar year, such as Diodorus Siculus ascribes to the Egyp-

tians. It will appear at first sight; by calculating their intercalations, that those who first divided the year in this manner, were not ignorant, that to three hundred sixty-five days, some hours were to be added, to keep pace with the sun. Their only error lay, in the supposition, that only six hours were wanting; whereas an addition of almost eleven minutes more was requisite.

a miscarriage cost him his life. This law checked indeed the temerity of empiricks; but then it might prevent new discoveries, and keep the art from attaining to its just perfection. Every physician, (*p*) if Herodotus may be credited, confined his practice to the cure of one disease only; one was for the eyes, another for the teeth, and so on.

What we have said of the pyramids, the labyrinth, and that infinite number of obelisks, temples, and palaces, whose precious remains still strike with admiration, and in which were displayed, the magnificence of the princes, who raised them, the skill of the workmen, the riches of the ornaments diffused over every part of them, and the just proportion and beautiful symmetry of the parts in which their greatest beauty consisted; works, in many of which the liveliness of the colours remain to this day, in spite of the rude hand of time, which commonly deadens or destroys them: All this, I say, shews the perfection to which architecture, painting, sculpture, and all other arts, had arrived in Egypt.

(*q*) The Egyptians entertained but a mean opinion of that sort of exercise, which did not contribute to invigorate the body, or improve health; nor of musick*, which they considered as an useless and dangerous diversion, and only fit to enervate the mind.

C H A P. V.

Of HUSBANDMEN, SHEPHERDS, and ARTIFICERS.

(*r*) **H**Uusbandmen, shepherds, and artificers, formed the three classes of lower life in Egypt, but were nevertheless had in very great esteem, particularly husbandmen and shepherds. The body politick requires

(*p*) Lib. ii. c. 84. (*q*) Diod. l. i. p. 73. (*r*) Diod. l. i. p. 67, 68.

* τὴν δὲ μουσικὴν νομίζουσιν ὅτι βλαβεράν ὡς ἐκθλύνουσιν τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀρετὰς, ἀλλὰ ὅτι αἰδεῖται τὴν ψυχὴν.

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a superiority and subordination of its several members; for as in the natural body, the eye may be said to hold the first rank, yet its lustre does not dart contempt upon the feet, the hands, or even on those parts which are less honourable. In like manner, among the Egyptians, the priests, soldiers, and scholars were distinguished by particular honours; but all professions, to the meanest, had their share in the publick esteem, because the despising any man, whose labours, however mean, were useful to the state, was thought a crime.

A better reason than the foregoing, might have inspired them at the first with these sentiments of equity and moderation, which they so long preserved. As they all descended from *Cham their common father, the memory of their origin occurring fresh to the minds of all in those first ages, established among them a kind of equality, and stamped, in their opinion, a nobility on every person derived from the common stock. Indeed the difference of conditions, and the contempt with which persons of the lowest rank are treated, are owing merely to the distance from the common root; which makes us forget that the meanest plebeian, when his descent is traced back to the source, is equally noble with those of the most elevated rank and titles.

Be that as it will, no profession in Egypt was considered as grovelling or sordid. By this means arts were raised to their highest perfection. The honour which cherished them mixed with every thought and care for their improvement. Every man had his way of life assigned him by the laws, and it was perpetuated from father to son. Two professions at one time, or a change of that which a man was born to, were never allowed. By this means, men became more able and expert in employments which they had always exercised from their infancy; and every man adding his own experience to that of his ancestors, was more capable of attaining perfection in his particular art. Besides, this wholesome institution which had been established anciently throughout Egypt, extinguished all

irregular

* Or Ham.

irregular ambition; and taught every man to sit down contented with his condition, without aspiring to one more elevated, from interest, vain-glory, or levity.

From this source flowed numberless inventions for the improvement of all the arts, and for rendering life more commodious, and trade more easy. I once could not believe that (s) Diodorous was in earnest, in what he relates concerning the Egyptian industry, viz. that this people had found out a way, by an artificial fecundity, to hatch eggs without the sitting of the hen; but all modern travellers declare it to be a fact, which certainly is worthy our curiosity, and is said to be practised in Europe. Their relations inform us, that the Egyptians stow eggs in ovens, which are heated so temperately, and with such just proportion to the natural warmth of the hen, that the chickens produced from these ovens are as strong as those which are hatched the natural way. The season of the year proper for this operation is, from the end of December to the end of April; the heat in Egypt being too violent in the other months. During these four months, upwards of three hundred thousand eggs are laid in these ovens, which, though they are not all successful, they nevertheless produce vast numbers of fowls at an easy rate. The art lies in giving the ovens a just degree of heat, which must not exceed a fixed proportion. About ten days are bestowed in heating these ovens, and very near as much time in hatching the eggs. It is very entertaining, say these travellers, to observe the hatching of these chickens, some of which shew at first nothing but their heads, others but half their bodies, and others again come quite out of the egg; these last, the moment they are hatched, make their way over the unhatched eggs, and form a diverting spectacle. (t) Corneille le Bruyn, in his Travels, has collected the observations of other travellers on this subject. (u) Pliny likewise mentions it; but it appears, from him, that the Egyptians, anciently, employed warm dung, not ovens, to hatch eggs*.

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(s) Diod. l. i. p. 67. (t) Tom. II. p. 64. (u) Lib. x. c. 54.

* The words of Pliny referred to fortasse inventum, ut Ova in calido
by Mr. Rollin are these. Nuper inde loco imposita palcis igne modico fove-
rentur

I have said, that husbandmen particularly, and those who took care of flocks, were in great esteem in Egypt, some parts of it excepted, where the latter were not suffered*. It was, indeed, to these two professions that Egypt owed its riches and plenty. It is astonishing to reflect what advantages the Egyptians, by their art and labour, drew from a country of no great extent, but whose soil was made wonderfully fruitful by the inundations of the Nile, and the laborious industry of the inhabitants.

It will be always so with every kingdom, whose governors direct all their actions to the public welfare. The culture of lands, and the breeding of cattle, will be an inexhaustible fund of wealth in all countries, where, as in Egypt, these profitable callings are supported and encouraged by maxims of state and policy: And we may consider it as a misfortune, that they are at present fallen into so general a disesteem; though it is from them that the most elevated ranks (as we esteem them) are furnished not only with the necessaries, but even the delights of life. "For, says Abbe Fleury, in his admirable work, Of the Manners of the Israelites, where the subject I am upon is thoroughly examined, "it is the peasant who feeds the citizen, the magistrate, the gentleman, the ecclesiastick: "And, whatever artifice and craft may be used to convert money into commodities, and these back again into money; yet all must ultimately be owned to be received from the products of the earth, and the animals which it sustains and nourishes. Nevertheless, "when we compare men's different stations of life together,

rentur homine versante, pariterque & stato die illinc erumperet fœtus. He speaks of this invention as modern, and seems to refer it to the curiosity of Livia the mother of Tiberius Cæsar, who, desirous of having a male-child, put an egg into her bosom, and when she parted with it, delivered it to one of her women to preserve the heat. This she made an augury to guess at the sex of the child she had then in her womb; and we are told, says Pliny, that she was not deceived. It is pre-

bable Mr. Rollin may have met with some other place in Pliny favourable to his sentiment, though after some search I cannot find any.

* Hogberds, in particular had a general ill name throughout Egypt, as they had the care of so impure an animal. Herodotus (l. ii. c. 47.) tells us, that they were not permitted to enter the Egyptian Temples, nor would any man give them his daughter in marriage.

“ther, we give the lowest place to the husbandman : And
 “with many people a wealthy citizen enervated with
 “sloth, useless to the publick, and void of all merit, has
 “the preference, merely because he has more money,
 “and lives a more easy and delightful life.

“But let us image to ourselves a country where so
 “great a difference is not made between the several con-
 “ditions ; where the life of a nobleman is not made to
 “consist in idleness and doing nothing ; but in a careful
 “preservation of his liberty ; that is, in a due subjection
 “to the laws and the constitution ; by a man’s subsisting
 “upon his estate without any dependance, and being con-
 “tented to enjoy a little with liberty, rather than a great
 “deal at the price of mean and base compliances : A
 “country, where sloth, effeminacy, and the ignorance
 “of things necessary for life, are had in their just con-
 “tempt ; and where pleasure is less valued than health-
 “and bodily strength : In such a country, it will be much
 “more for a man’s reputation to plough, and keep flocks,
 “than to waste all his hours in sauntering from place to
 “place, in gaming, and expensive diversions.” But we
 need not have recourse to Plato’s commonwealth for in-
 stances of men who have led these useful lives. It was
 thus that the greatest part of mankind lived during near
 four thousand years ; and that not only the Israelites, but
 the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Romans, that is to
 say, nations the most civilized, and most renowned for
 arms and wisdom. They all inculcate the regard which
 ought to be paid to agriculture, and the breeding of cat-
 tle : One of which (without saying any thing of hemp
 and flax so necessary for our cloathing) supplies us, by
 corn, fruits, and pulse, with not only a plentiful but
 delicious nourishment ; and the other, besides its supply
 of exquisite meats to cover our tables, almost alone gives
 life to manufactures and trade, by the skins and stuffs it
 furnishes.

Princes are commonly desirous, and their interest cer-
 tainly requires it, that the peasant who, in a literal sense,
 sustains the heat and burden of the day, and pays so great

a proportion of the national taxes, should meet with favour and encouragement. But the kind and good intentions of princes are too often defeated by the insatiable and mercilefs avarice of those who are appointed to collect their revenues. History has transmitted to us a fine saying of Tiberius on this head. (x) A prefect of Egypt having augmented the annual tribute of the province, and, doubtless with the view of making his court to the emperor, remitted to him a sum much larger than was customary; that prince, who in the beginning of his reign thought, or at least spoke justly, answered, * *That it was his design not to slay, but to shear his sheep.*

CHAP. VI.

Of the FERTILITY of EGYPT.

UNDER this head, I shall treat only of some plants peculiar to Egypt, and of the abundance of corn which it produced.

Papyrus. This is a plant, from the root of which shoot out a great many triangular stalks, to the height of six or seven cubits. (y) The ancients writ at first upon palm leaves; next on the inside of the bark of trees, from whence the word *liber*, or book, is derived; after that, upon tables covered over with wax, on which the characters were impressed with an instrument called Stylus, sharp-pointed at one end to write with, and flat at the other, to efface what had been written; which gave occasion to the following expression of Horace.

Sæpe stylum vertas, iterum quæ digna legi sint
Scripturus:

Sat. x. ver. 72.

*Oft turn your style, if you desire to write
Things that will bear a second reading—*

The meaning of which is, that a good performance is not to be expected without many corrections. At last the

(x) Diod. l. lvii. p. 608.

(y) Plin. l. xiii. c. 11.

* *Κρίεσθαι μὲν τὰ πρῶτα, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἀποὺρ ἔσθαι βέλους.* Diod. l. lvii.

use of paper* was introduced, and this was made of the bark of Papyrus, divided into thin flakes or leaves, which were very proper for writing; and this Papyrus was likewise called Byblus.

Nondum flumineas Memphis contexere byblos
Noverat.

Lucan.

*Memphis as yet knew not to form in leaves
The watry Byblos.*

Pliny calls it a wonderful invention †, so useful to life, that it preserves the memory of great actions, and immortalizes those who atchieved them. Varro ascribes this invention to Alexander the Great, when he built Alexandria; but he had only the merit of making paper more common, for the invention was of much greater antiquity. The same Pliny adds, that Eumenes, king of Pergamus, substituted parchment instead of paper; in emulation of Ptolemy king of Egypt, whose library he was ambitious to excell by this invention, which carried the advantage over paper. Parchment is the skin of a sheep dressed and made fit to write upon. It was called Pergamenum from Pergamus, whose kings had the honour of the invention. All the ancient manuscripts are either upon parchment, or vellum which is calf-skin, and a great deal finer than the common parchment. It is very curious to see white fine paper; wrought out of filthy rags picked up in the streets. (z) The plant Papyrus was useful likewise for sails, tackling, clothes, coverlets, &c.

Linum. Flax is a plant whose bark, full of fibres or strings, is useful in making fine linen. The method of making this linen in Egypt was wonderful, and carried to such perfection, that the threads which were drawn out of them, were almost too small for the observation of the sharpest eye. Priests were always habited in linen, and

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never

[z] Plin. l. xix. c. 1.

* The Papyrus was divided into thin flakes (into which it naturally parted) which being laid on a table, and moistened with the glutinous waters of the Nile, were afterwards pressed together, and dried in the sun.

† Postea promiscuè patuit usus rei, qua constat immortalitas hominum. Chartæ usu maxime humanitas constat in memoria.

never in woollen; and not only the priests, but all persons of distinction generally wore linen clothes. This flax formed a considerable branch of the Egyptian trade, and great quantities of it were exported into foreign countries. The making of it employed a great number of hands, especially of the women, as appears from that passage of Isaiah, in which the prophet menaces Egypt with a drought of so terrible a kind, that it should interrupt every kind of labour. (a) *Moreover, they that work in fine flax and they that weave net-work shall be confounded.* We likewise find in scripture, that one effect of the plague of hail, called down by (b) Moses upon Egypt, was the destruction of all the flax which was then belled. This storm was in March.

Byssus. (c) This was another kind of flax extremely fine and small, which often received a purple dye. It was very dear; and none but rich and wealthy persons could afford to wear it. Pliny, who gives the first place to the Asbeston or Asbestinum (*i. e.* the incombustible flax) places the Byssus in the next rank; and says, that it served as an ornament to the ladies*. It appears from the holy scriptures, that it was chiefly from Egypt cloth made of this fine flax was brought. (d) *Fine linen with broidered work from Egypt.*

I take no notice of the Lotus or Lote-tree, a plant in great request with the Egyptians, and whose berries served them in former times for bread. There was another Lotus in Africa, which gave its name to the Lotophagi or Lotus-eaters; because they lived upon the fruit of this tree, which had so delicious a taste, if Homer may be credited, that it made the eaters of it forget all the sweets of

(a) Isa. xix. 9. (b) Exod. ix. 31. (c) Plin. *ibid.* (d) Ezek. xxvii. 7.

* Proximus Byssino mulierum maxime deliciis genito: inventum jam est etiam [*scilicet Linum*] quod ignibus non absumetur, vivum id vocant, ardentesque in focis convivorum ex eo vidimus mappas, sordibus exustis splendescentes igni magis, quam possent aquis, *i. e.*

A flax is now found out, which is proof against the violence of fire; it is called living flax, and we have seen table napkins of it glowing in the fires of our dining rooms; and receiving a lustre and a cleanness from flames, which no water could have given it.

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of their native country*, as Ulysses found to his cost in his return from Troy.

In general, it may be said, that the Egyptian pulse and fruits were excellent; and might, as Pliny † observes, have sufficed singly for the nourishment of the inhabitants, such was their excellent quality, and so great their plenty. And indeed working men lived then almost upon nothing else, as appears from those who were employed in building the pyramids.

Besides these rural riches, the Nile from its fish, and the fatness it gave to the soil for the feeding of cattle, furnished the tables of the Egyptians with the most exquisite fish of every kind, and the most succulent flesh. This it was which made the Israelites so deeply regret the loss of Egypt, when they found themselves in the dreary desert. *Who*, say they in a plaintive, and at the same time seditious tone, *(f) shall give us flesh to eat? We remember the flesh which we did eat in Egypt freely; the cucumbers and melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlick. (g) We sat by the flesh-pots, and we did eat bread to the full.*

But the great and matchless wealth of Egypt arose from its corn, which, even in an almost universal famine, enabled it to support all the neighbouring nations, as it particularly did under Joseph's administration. In later ages it was the resource and most certain granary of Rome and Constantinople. It is a well known story, how a calumny raised against St. Athanasius, viz. of his having menaced Constantinople, that for the future no more corn should be imported to it from Alexandria; incensed the emperor Constantine against that holy bishop, because he knew that his capital city could not subsist without the corn

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which

(f) Numb. xi. 4, 5.

(g) Exod. xvi. 3.

* Τῶν δ' ὅστις λατοῖο φάγοι μελιηδέα καρπὸν,
Οὐκ ἔτ' ἀπαρτίλαις πάλιν ἕθειν, οὐδὲ τίς σθαι.

Odyss. ix. ver. 94, 95.

Μὴ πῶτις λατοῖο φαγὼν, ἰέσοις λιβηταί.

ver. 102.

† Ægyptus frugum quidem fer- possit, tanta est ciborum ex herbis
tilissima, sed ut prope sola iis carere abundantia. Plin. l. xxi. c. 15.

which was brought to it from Egypt. The same reason induced all the emperors of Rome to take so great a care of Egypt, which they considered as the nursing mother of the world's metropolis.

Nevertheless, the same river which enabled this province to subsist the two most populous cities in the world, sometimes reduced even Egypt itself to the most terrible famine: And it is astonishing that Joseph's wise foresight, which in fruitful years had made provision for seasons of sterility, should not have hinted to these so much boasted politicians, a like care against the changes and inconstancy of the Nile. Pliny, in his panegyrick upon Trajan, paints with wonderful strength the extremity to which that country was reduced by a famine, under that prince's reign, and his generous relief of it. The reader will not be displeased to read here an extract of it, in which a greater regard will be had to Pliny's thoughts, than to his expressions.

The Egyptians, says Pliny, who gloried that they needed neither rain nor sun to produce their corn, and who believed they might confidently contest the prize of plenty with the most fruitful countries of the world, were condemned to an unexpected drought, and a fatal sterility; from the greatest part of their territories being deserted and left unwatered by the Nile, whose inundation is the source and sure standard of their abundance. They then * implored that assistance from their prince, which they used to expect only from their river. The delay of their relief was no longer, than that which employed a courier to bring the melancholy news to Rome; and one would have imagined, that this misfortune had befallen them only to distinguish with greater lustre, the generosity and goodness of Cæsar. † It was an ancient and general opinion, that

* Inundatione, id. est, ubertate regio fraudata, sic opem Cæsar's invocavit, ut solet amnem suum.

† Percrebuerat antiquitas urbem nostram nisi opibus Ægypti ali sustentarique non posse. Superbiebat ventosa & insolens natio, quod vic-

torem quidem populum pasceret tamen, quodque in suo flumine, in suis manibus, vel abundantia nostra vel fames esset. Refudimus Nilo suas copias. Recepit frumenta quæ miserat, deportataque messes revexit.

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our city could not subsist without provisions drawn from Egypt. This vain and proud nation boasted, that though it was conquered, it nevertheless fed its conquerors; that, by means of its river, either abundance or scarcity were entirely in its disposal. But we now have returned the Nile his own harvests, and given him back the provisions he sent us. Let the Egyptians be then convinced, by their own experience, that they are not necessary to us, and are only our vassals. Let them know that their ships do not so much bring us the provision we stand in need of, as the tribute which they owe us. And let them never forget, that we can do without them, but that they can never do without us. This most fruitful province had been ruined, had it not wore the Roman chains. The Egyptians, in their sovereign, had found a deliverer, and a father. Astonished at the sight of their granaries, filled without any labour of their own, they were at a loss to know to whom they owed this foreign and gratuitous plenty. The famine of a people, at such distance from us, and which was so speedily stopped, served only to let them feel the advantage of living under our empire. The * Nile may, in other times, have diffused more plenty on Egypt, but never more glory upon us. May heaven, content with this proof of the people's patience, and the prince's generosity, restore for ever back to Egypt its ancient fertility.

Pliny's reproach to the Egyptians, for their vain and foolish pride, with regard to the inundations of the Nile, points out one of their most peculiar characteristics, and recalls to my mind a fine passage of Ezekiel, where God thus speaks to Pharaoh, one of their kings, (*b*) *Behold I am against thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt, the great Dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My river is my own, and I have made it for myself.* God perceived an insupportable pride in the heart of this prince: A sense of security and confidence in the inunda-

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tions

(*b*) Ezek. xxix. 3, 9.

* Nilus Ægypto quidem sæpe, sed gloriæ nostræ nunquam largior fluxit.

ions of the Nile, independent entirely on the influences of heaven; as though the happy effects of this inundation had been owing to nothing but his own care and labour, or those of his predecessors: *The river is mine, and I have made it.*

Before I conclude this second part of the manners of the Egyptians, I think it incumbent on me, to bespeak the attention of my readers to different passages scattered in the history of Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, and Moses, which confirm and illustrate part of what we meet with in profane authors upon this subject. They will there observe the perfect polity which reigned in Egypt, both in the court and the rest of the kingdom; the vigilance of the prince, who was informed of all transactions, had a regular council, a chosen number of ministers, armies ever well maintained and disciplined, and of every order of soldiery, horse, foot, armed chariots: intendants in all the provinces; overseers or guardians of the publick granaries; wise and exact dispensers of the corn lodged in them; a court composed of great officers of the crown, a captain of his guards, a cup-bearer, a master of his pantry; in a word, all things that compose a prince's household, and constitute a magnificent court. (i) But above all these, the readers will admire the fear in which the threatnings of God were held, the inspector of all actions, and the judge of kings themselves; and the horror the Egyptians had for adultery, which was acknowledged to be a crime of so heinous a nature, that it alone was capable of bringing destruction on a nation.

(i) Gen. xii. 20, 26.

PART THE THIRD.

The HISTORY of the KINGS of EGYPT.

NO part of ancient history is more obscure or uncertain, than that of the first kings of Egypt. This proud nation, fondly conceited of its antiquity and nobility, thought it glorious to lose itself in an abyss of infinite ages, as though it seemed to carry its pretensions backward to eternity. (k) According to its own historians, first, gods, and afterwards demi-gods or heroes, governed it successively, through a series of more than twenty thousand years. But the absurdity of this vain and fabulous claim, is easily discovered.

To gods and demi-gods, men succeeded as rulers or kings in Egypt, of whom Manethon has left us thirty dynasties or principalities. This Manethon was an Egyptian high-priest, and keeper of the sacred archives of Egypt, and had been instructed in the Grecian learning: He wrote a history of Egypt, which he pretended to have extracted from the writings of Mercurius and other ancient memoirs, preserved in the Archives of the Egyptian temples. He drew up this history under the reign, and at the command of Ptolemy Philadelphus. If his thirty dynasties are allowed to be successive, they make up a series of time, of more than five thousand three hundred years, to the reign of Alexander the Great; but this is a manifest forgery. Besides, we find in Eratosthenes*, who was invited to Alexandria by Ptolemy Evergetes, a catalogue of thirty-eight kings of Thebes, all different from those of Manethon. The clearing up of these difficulties has put the learned to a great deal of trouble and labour. The most effectual way to reconcile such contradictions, is, to suppose with almost all the modern writers upon this subject, that the kings of these different dynasties, did not reign successively after one another, but many of them at the same time, and in different

(k) Diod. l. i. p. 41.

* An historian of Cyrene.

ferent countries of Egypt. There were in Egypt four principal dynasties, that of Thebes, of Thin, of Memphis, and of Tanis. I shall not here give my readers a list of the kings, who have reigned in Egypt, most of whom are only transmitted to us by their names. I shall only take notice of what seems to me most proper, to give youth the necessary light into this part of history, for whose sake principally I engaged in this undertaking; and I shall confine myself chiefly to the memoirs left us by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus concerning the Egyptian kings, without even scrupulously preserving the exactness of succession, in the beginnings at least, which are very obscure; or pretending to reconcile these two historians. Their design, especially that of Herodotus, was not to lay before us an exact series of the kings of Egypt, but only to point out those princes, whose history appeared to them most important and instructive. I shall follow the same plan, and hope to be forgiven, for not having involved either myself, or my readers, in a labyrinth of almost inextricable difficulties, from which the most capable can scarce disengage themselves, when they pretend to follow the series of history, and reduce it to fixed and certain dates. The curious may consult the learned *pieces, in which this subject is treated in all its extent.

I am to premise, that Herodotus, upon the credit of the Egyptian priests, whom he had consulted, gives us a great number of oracles, and singular incidents, all which, though he relates them as so many facts, the judicious reader will easily discover to be what they are, I mean fictions.

The ancient history of Egypt comprehends 2158 years, and is naturally divided into three periods.

The first begins with the establishment of the Egyptian monarchy, by Menes or Misraim, the son of (1) Cham, in the year of the world 1816; and ends with the destruction of that monarchy by Cambyfes, king of Persia, in the year of the world 3479. This first period contains 1663 years.

(1) Or Ham.

* Sir John Marsham's *Chronicon*. *Chronicon* of Tournemine, and Abbe Canon. Father Pezron, the *Differ-* Sevin, &c.

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The second period is intermixed with the Persian and Grecian history, extended to the death of Alexander the Great, which happened in the year 3681, and consequently includes 202 years.

The third period is that in which a new monarchy was formed in Egypt by the Lagides or Ptolemies, descendants from Lagus; to the death of Cleopatra the last queen of Egypt in 3974, and this last comprehends 293 years.

I shall now treat only of the first period, reserving the two others for the *Æras* to which they belong.

The KINGS of EGYPT.

(*m*) **MENES.** Historians are unanimously agreed, that Menes was the first king of Egypt. It is pretended, and not without foundation, that he is the same with Misraim, the son of Cham.

Cham was the second son of Noah. When the family of the latter, after the extravagant attempt of building the tower of Babel, dispersed themselves into different countries, Cham retired to Africa, and it doubtless was he who afterwards was worshipped as a god, under the name of Jupiter Ammon. He had four children, (*n*) Chus, Misraim, Phut, and Canaan. Chus settled in Ethiopia, Misraim in Egypt, which generally is called in scripture after his name, and by that of Cham * his father; Phut took possession of that part of Africa, which lies westward of Egypt: and Canaan, of the country which has since bore his name. The Canaanites are certainly the same people, who are called almost always Phœnicians by the Greeks, of which foreign name no reason can be given, any more than of the oblivion of the true one.

(*o*) I return to Misraim. He is agreed to be the same with Menes, whom all historians declare to be the first king

(*m*) A. M. 1816. Ante J. C. 2188. (*n*) *Or Cusb*, Gen. x. 6.

(*o*) Herod. l. ii. p. 99. Diod. l. i. p. 42.

* The footsteps of its old name called *Enula*, *Chemia*, by an easy corruption of *Chamia*, and this for *Cham* or *Ham*, by the testimony of Plutarch, it was

king of Egypt, the institutor of the worship of the gods, and of the ceremonies of the sacrifices.

BUSIRIS, some ages after him, built the famous city of Thebes, and made it the seat of his Empire. We have elsewhere taken notice of the wealth and magnificence of this city. This prince is not to be confounded with Busiris, so infamous for his cruelties.

OSYMANDYAS. (p) Diodorus gives a very particular description of many magnificent edifices, raised by this king; one of which was adorned with sculptures and paintings of exquisite beauty, representing his expedition against the Bactrians, a people of Asia, whom he had invaded with four hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse. In another part of the edifice, was exhibited an assembly of the judges, whose president wore, on his breast, a picture of truth, with her eyes shut, and himself surrounded with books; an emphatic emblem, denoting that judges ought to be perfectly versed in the laws, and impartial in the administration of them.

The king likewise was painted here, offering to the gods gold and silver, which he drew every year from the mines of Egypt, amounting to the sum of sixteen millions *.

Not far from hence, was seen a magnificent library, the oldest mentioned in history. Its title or inscription on the front was, *The office, or treasury, for the diseases of the soul*. Near it were statues, representing all the Egyptian gods, to each of whom the king made suitable offerings; by which he seemed to be desirous of informing posterity, that his life and reign had been crowned with piety to the gods, and justice to men.

His mausoleum discovered an uncommon magnificence; it was encompassed with a circle of gold, a cubit in breadth, and 365 cubits in circumference; each of which shewed the rising and setting of the sun, moon, and the rest of the planets. (q) For so old as this king's reign, the Egyptians divided the year into twelve months, each consisting of thirty days; to which they added every year five days and six hours. The spectator did not

know

(p) Diod. l. i. p. 44, 45. (q) See Sir Isaac Newton's *Chronology*, p. 32.

* Three thousand two hundred myriads of Minæ.

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know which to admire most in this stately monument, whether the richness of its materials, or the genius and industry of the artists and workmen.

(*r*) **UCHOREUS**, one of the successors of Osymandyas, built the city of Memphis. This city was 150 furlongs, or more than seven leagues in circumference, and stood at the point of the Delta, in that part where the Nile divides itself into several branches or streams. Southward from the city, he raised a very high mole. On the right and left he dug very deep moats to receive the river. These were faced with stone, and raised, near the city, by strong causeys; the whole designed to secure the city from the inundations of the Nile, and the incursions of the enemy. A city so advantageously situated, and so strongly fortified, that it was almost the key of the Nile, and, by this means, commanded the whole country, became soon the usual residence of the Egyptian kings. It kept possession of this honour, till it was forced to resign it to Alexandria, built by Alexander the Great.

MOERIS. This king made the famous lake, which went by his name, and whereof mention has been already made.

(*s*) Egypt had long been governed by its native princes, when strangers, called Shepherd-kings (*Hycsos* in the Egyptian language) from Arabia or Phœnicia, invaded and seized a great part of lower Egypt, and Memphis itself; but upper Egypt remained unconquered, and the kingdom of Thebes existed till the reign of Sesostris. These foreign princes governed about 260 years.

(*t*) Under one of these princes, called Pharaoh in the scripture (a name common to all the kings of Egypt) Abraham arrived there with his wife Sarah, who was exposed to great hazard, on account of her exquisite beauty, which reaching the prince's ear, she was by him taken from Abraham, upon the supposition, that she was not his wife, but only his sister.

(*u*) **THETHMOSIS**, or Amosis, having expelled the Shepherd-kings, reigned in lower Egypt.

(*x*) Long after his reign, Joseph was brought a slave into

(*r*) Diod. p. 46. (*s*) A. M. 1920. Ant. J. C. 2084. (*t*) A. M. 2084. Ant. J. C. 1920. Gen. xii. 10, 20. (*u*) A. M. 2179. Ant. J. C. 1825. (*x*) A. M. 2276. Ant. J. C. 1728.

into Egypt. by some Ismaelitish merchants; sold to Potiphar; and, by a series of wonderful events, enjoyed the supreme authority, by his being raised to the chief employment of the kingdom. I shall pass over his history, as it is so universally known. But must take notice of a remark of Justin the epitomizer of Trogus Pompeius (y), an excellent historian of the Augustan age, viz. that Joseph the youngest of Jacob's children, whom his brethren, fired by envy, had sold to foreign merchants, being endowed from heaven * with the interpretation of dreams, and a knowledge of futurity, preserved, by this uncommon prudence, Egypt from the famine with which it was menaced, and was extremely caressed by the king.

(z) Jacob also went into Egypt with his whole family, which met with the kindest treatment from the Egyptians, whilst Joseph's important services were fresh in their memories. But after his death, say the scriptures, (a) *there arose up a new king, which knew not Joseph.*

(b) RAMESES-MIAMUN, according to archbishop Usher, was the name of this king, who is called Pharaoh in scripture. He reigned sixty-six years, and oppressed the Israelites in a most grievous manner. (c) *He set over them task-masters, to afflict them with their burdens, and they built for Pharaoh treasure-cities †, Pithom and Raamses—and the Egyptians made the children of Israel to serve with rigour, and they made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field; all their service wherein they made them serve, was with rigour.* This king had two sons, Amenophis and Busris.

(d) AMENOPHIS, the eldest, succeeded him. He was the Pharaoh, under whose reign the Israelites departed out

(y) Lib. xxxvi. c. 2.

(a) Exod. i. 8.

(c) Exod. i. 11, 13, 14.

* Justin ascribes this gift of heaven to Joseph's skill in magical arts. Cum magicas ibi artes (Egypto sc.) solerti ingenio percepisset, &c.

(z) A. M. 2298. Ant. J. C. 1706.

(b) A. M. 2427. Ant. J. C. 1577.

(d) A. M. 2493. Ant. J. C. 1511.

† Heb. urbes thesaurorum, urbes munitas. These cities were appointed to preserve, as in a store-house, the corn, oil, and other products of Egypt. Vatab.

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out of Egypt, and who was drowned in his passage through the Red-Sea.

(e) Father Tournemine makes Sesostris, of whom we shall speak immediately, the Pharaoh who raised the persecution against the Israelites, and oppressed them with the most painful toils. This is exactly agreeable to the account given, by Diodorus, of this prince, who employed in his Egyptian works only foreigners; so that we may place the memorable event of the passage of the Red-Sea, under his son Pheron*; and the characteristic of impiety ascribed to him by Herodotus, greatly strengthens the probability of this conjecture. The plan I have proposed to follow in this history, excuses me from entering into chronological discussions.

(f) Diodorus, speaking of the Red-Sea, has made one remark very worthy our observation; a tradition (says that historian) has been transmitted through the whole nation, from father to son, for many ages, that once an extraordinary ebb dried up the sea, so that its bottom was seen; and that a violent flow immediately after brought back the waters to their former channel. It is evident, that the miraculous passage of Moses, over the Red-Sea, is here hinted at; and I make this remark, purposely to admonish young students, not to slip over, in their perusal of authors, these precious remains of Antiquity; especially when they bear, like this passage, any relation to religion.

Archbishop Usher says, that Amenophis left two sons, one called Sesothis or Sesostris, and the other Armais. The Greeks call him Belus, and his two sons Egyptus and Danaus.

(g) SESOSTRIS was not only one of the most powerful kings of Egypt, but one of the greatest conquerors that antiquity boasts of.

His father, whether by inspiration, caprice, or, as the Egyptians say, by the authority of an oracle, formed a design

(e) A. M. 2513. Ant. J. C. 1491.

(f) Lib. iii. p. 74.

(g) Herod. l. ii. cap. 102, 110. Diod. l. i. p. 48, 54.

* This name bears a great resemblance to Pharaoh, so common to the Egyptian kings.

design of making his son a conqueror. This he set about after the Egyptian manner, that is, in a great and noble way; all the male-children born the same day with Sesostris, were, by the king's order, brought to court. Here they were educated as if they had been his own children, with the same care bestowed on Sesostris, with whom they were lodged. He could not possibly have given him more faithful ministers, or officers who more zealously desired the success of his arms. The chief part of their education was, the inuring them, from their infancy, to a hard and laborious life, in order that they might one day be capable of sustaining with ease the toils of war. They were never suffered to eat, till they had run, on foot or horse-back, a considerable race. Hunting was their most common exercise.

(b) Ælian remarks that Sesostris was taught by Mercury, who instructed him in politicks, and the arts of government. This Mercury, is he whom the Greeks called Trismegistus, *i. e.* thrice great. Egypt, his native country, owes to him the invention of almost every art. The two books, which go under his name, bear such evident characters of novelty, that the forgery is no longer doubted. There was another Mercury, who also was very famous amongst the Egyptians, for his rare knowledge; and of much greater antiquity than him in question. Jamblicus, a priest of Egypt, affirms, that it was customary with the Egyptians, to publish all new books or inventions under the name of Hermes or Mercury.

When Sesostris was more advanced in years, his father set him against the Arabians, in order that by fighting against them, he might acquire military knowledge. Here the young prince learned to bear hunger and thirst, and subdued a nation which till then had never been conquered. The youth educated with him, attended him in all his campaigns.

Accustomed by this conquest to marshal toils, he was next sent by his father to try his fortune westward. He

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invaded Libya, and subdued the greatest part of that vast continent.

(i) **SESOSTRIS.** In the time of this expedition, his father died, and left him capable of attempting the greatest enterprizes. He formed no less a design than that of the conquest of the world. But before he left his kingdom, he had provided for his domestick security; in winning the hearts of his subjects by his generosity, justice, and a popular and obliging behaviour. He was no less studious to gain the affection of his officers and soldiers, who were ever ready to shed the last drop of their blood in his service; persuaded that his enterprizes would all be unsuccessful, unless his army should be attached to his person, by all the ties of esteem, affection, and interest. He divided the country into thirty-six governments (called *Nomi*) and bestowed them on persons of merit, and the most approved fidelity.

In the mean time he made the requisite preparations, levied forces, and headed them with officers of the greatest bravery and reputation, that were taken chiefly from among the youths who had been educated with him. He had seventeen hundred of these officers, who all were capable of inspiring his troops with resolution, a love of discipline, and a zeal for the service of their prince. His army consisted of six hundred thousand foot, and twenty-four thousand horse, besides twenty-seven thousand armed chariots.

He began his expedition by invading *Æthiopia*, situated to the south of Egypt. He made it tributary, and obliged the nations of it to furnish him annually with a certain quantity of ebony, ivory, and gold.

He had fitted out a fleet of four hundred sail, and ordering it to sail to the Red-Sea, made himself master of the isles and cities lying on the coast of that sea. He himself heading his land army, over-ran and subdued Asia with amazing rapidity, and pierced farther into India than Hercules, Bacchus, and in after-times Alexander himself had ever done; for he subdued the countries beyond
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and for the settling an easy correspondence between such cities as were most distant from one another. Besides the advantages of traffick, Egypt was, by these canals, made inaccessible to the cavalry of its enemies, which before had so often harassed it, by repeated incursions.

He went farther: To secure Egypt from the incursions of its nearer neighbours, the Syrians and Arabians, he fortified all the eastern coast from Pelusium to Heliopolis, that is, for upwards of seven leagues*.

Sesostris might have been considered as one of the most illustrious and most boasted heroes of antiquity, had not the lustre of his warlike actions, as well as his pacific virtues, been tarnished by a thirst of glory, and a blind fondness for his own grandeur, which made him forget that he was a man. The kings and chiefs of the conquered nations came, at stated times, to do homage to their victor, and pay him the appointed tribute. On every other occasion, he treated them with some humanity and generosity. But when he went to the temple, or entered his capital, he caused these princes, four a-breast, to be harnessed to his carr, instead of horses; and valued himself upon his being thus drawn by the lords and sovereigns of other nations. What I am most surpris'd at, is, that Diodorus should rank this foolish and inhuman vanity, among the most shining actions of this prince.

(k) Being grown blind in his old age, he dispatched himself, after having reigned thirty-three years, and left his kingdom infinitely rich. His empire nevertheless did not reach beyond the fourth generation. But there still remained, so low as the reign of Tiberius, magnificent monuments, which shewed the extent of Egypt under (l) Sesostris, and the immense tributes which were paid to it†.

I now

(k) Tacit. Ann. l. ii. c. 60.

(l) Tacit. An. l. ii.

* 150 stadia, about 18 miles English.

† *Legebantur indicta gentibus tributa—haud minus magnifica quam nunc vi Parthorum aut potentia Romana jubentur—inscripted on*

pillars, were read the tributes imposed on vanquished nations, which were not inferior to those now paid to the Parthian and Roman power.

I now go back to some facts which should have been mentioned before, as they fell out in this period, but were omitted, in order that I might not break the thread of the history, and therefore will now be only glanced at.

About the *Æra* in question, the Egyptians settled themselves in divers parts of the earth. (*m*) The colony, which Cecrops led out of Egypt built twelve cities or rather so many towns, of which he composed the kingdom of Athens.

We observed, that the brother of Sesostris, called by the Greeks Danaus, had formed a design to murder him, in his return to Egypt, from his conquests. (*n*) But being defeated in his horrid project, he was obliged to fly. He thereupon retired to Peloponnesus, where he seized upon the kingdom of Argos, which had been founded about four hundred years before, by Inachus.

(*o*) BUSIRIS, brother of Amenophis, so infamous among the ancients for his cruelties, exercised his tyranny at that time on the banks of the Nile; and barbarously cut the throats of all foreigners who landed in his country: This was probably during the absence of Sesostris.

(*p*) About the same time, Cadmus brought from Syria into Greece, the invention of letters. Some pretend, that these characters or letters were Egyptian, and that Cadmus himself was a native of Egypt, and not of Phœnicia; and the Egyptians, who ascribe to themselves the invention of every art, and boast a greater antiquity than any other nation, give to their Mercury, the honour of inventing letters. Most of the learned * agree, that Cadmus carried the Phœnician or Syrian letters into Greece, and that those letters were Hebraic; the Hebrews, as a small nation, being

(*m*) A. M. 2448 (*n*) A. M. 2530. (*o*) A. M. 2533. (*p*) A. M. 2549.

* The reader may consult, on this subject, two learned dissertations of Abbe Renaudot, inserted in the second volume of The history of the academy of inscriptions.

comprehended under the general name of Syrians. Joseph Scaliger, in his notes on the Chronicon of Eusebius, proves, that the Greek letters, and those of the Latin alphabet formed from them, derive their original from the ancient Phœnician letters, which are the same with the Samaritan, and were used by the Jews before the Babylonish captivity. Cadmus carried only sixteen letters * into Greece, eight others being added afterwards.

I return to the history of the Egyptian kings, whom I shall hereafter rank in the same order with Herodotus.

(q) PHERON succeeded Sesostris in his kingdom, but not in his glory. (r) Herodotus relates but one action of his, which shews how greatly he had degenerated from the religious sentiments of his father. In an extraordinary inundation of the Nile, which exceeded eighteen cubits, this prince enraged at the wild havoc which was made by it, threw a javelin at the river, as if he intended thereby to chastise its insolence; but was himself immediately punished for his impiety, if the historian may be credited, with the loss of sight.

(s) PROTEUS. † He was of Memphis, where in Herodotus's time, his temple was still standing, in which

(q) A. M. 2547. Ant. J. C. 1457. (r) Herod. l. i. c. 111. Diod. l. p. 54. (s) A. M. 2800. Ant. J. C. 1204. Herod. l. ii. c. 112, 120.

* The sixteen letters brought by Cadmus into Greece, are α, β, γ, δ, ε, ζ, η, θ, ι, κ, λ, μ, ν, ξ, ο, π, ρ, σ, τ, υ. Palamedes, at the siege of Troy, i. e. upwards of two hundred and fifty years lower than Cadmus, added the four following, ς, ϑ, ϕ, χ; and Simonides, a long time after, invented the four others, namely, η, ω, ξ, ι.

† I don't think myself obliged to enter here into a discussion, which would be attended with very perplexing difficulties, should I pretend to reconcile the series, or succession of the kings, as given by Herodotus, with the opinion of archbishop Usher.

This last supposes, with a great many other learned men, that Sesostris is the son of that Egyptian king, who was drowned in the Red-Sea, whose reign must consequently have begun in the year of the world 2513, and continued till the year 2547, since it lasted thirty-three years. Should we allow fifty years to the reign of Pheron his son, there would still be an interval of above two hundred years between Pheron and Proteus, who, according to Herodotus, succeeded immediately the first; since Proteus lived at the time of the siege of Troy, which, according to Usher, was taken An.

M. 1111

was a chapel dedicated to Venus the Stranger. It is conjectured that this Venus was Helen. For, in the reign of this monarch, Paris the Trojan, returning home with Helen, whom he had stolen, was drove by a storm into one of the mouths of the Nile, called the Canopic; and from thence was conducted to Proteus at Memphis, who reproached him in the strongest terms for his base perfidy and guilt, in stealing the wife of his host, and with her all the effects in his house. He added, that the only reason why he did not punish him with death (as his crime deserved) was, because the Egyptians did not care to imbrue their hands in the blood of strangers: That he would keep Helen with all the riches that were brought with her, in order to restore them to their owner: That as for himself (Paris) he must either quit his dominions in three days, or expect to be treated as an enemy. The king's order was obeyed. Paris continued his voyage, and arrived at Troy, whither he was closely pursued by the Grecian army. The Greeks summoned the Trojans to surrender Helen, and with her, all the treasures of which her husband had been plundered. The Trojans answered, that neither Helen, nor her treasures, were in their city. And indeed was it at all likely, says Herodotus, that Priam, who was so wise an old Prince, should choose to see his children and country destroyed before his eyes, rather than give the Greeks the just and reasonable satisfaction they desired? But it was to no purpose for them to affirm with an oath, that Helen was not in their city; the Greeks, being firmly persuaded that they were trifled with, persisted obstinately in their unbelief. The deity, continues the same historian, being resolved that the Trojans, by the total destruction of their city, should teach

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the

Man. 2820. *I know not whether there almost total silence on the Egyptian kings after Sesostris, was owing to his sense of this difficulty. I suppose a long interval to have been between Pheron and Proteus; accordingly Diodorus (lib. cliv.) fills it up with a great many kings; and the same must be said of some of the following kings.*

the affrighted world this lesson*: THAT GREAT CRIMES ARE ATTENDED WITH AS GREAT AND SIGNAL PUNISHMENTS FROM THE OFFENDED GODS. Menelaus, in his return from Troy, called at the court of king Proteus, who restored him Helen with all her treasure. Herodotus proves, from some passages in Homer, that the voyage of Paris to Egypt was not unknown to this poet.

RHAMPINITUS. The treasury built by this king, who was the richest of all his predecessors, and his descent into hell, as they are related by (t) Herodotus, have so much the air of romance and fiction, that they deserve no mention here.

Till the reign of this king, there had been some shadow, at least of judgement and moderation, in Egypt; but in the two following reigns, violence and cruelty usurped their place.

(u) CHEOPS and CEPHRENUS. These two princes, who were truly brothers by the similitude of their manners, seem to have strove which of them should distinguish himself most, by a barefaced impiety towards the gods, and a barbarous inhumanity to men. Cheops reigned fifty years, and his brother Cephrenus fifty-six years after him. They kept the temples shut during the whole time of their long reigns; and forbid the offering of sacrifices under the severest penalties. On the other hand, they oppressed their subjects by employing them in the most grievous and useless works; and sacrificed the lives of numberless multitudes of men, merely to gratify a senseless ambition, of immortalizing their names by edifices of an enormous magnitude and a boundless expence. It is remarkable, that those stately pyramids, which have so long been the admiration of the whole world, were the effect of the irreligion and merciless cruelty of those princes.

MYCERINUS.

(t) L. ii. c. 121, 123. (u) Herod. l. ii. c. 124, 128. Diod. l. i. p. 57.

* Ὡς τῶν μεγάλων ἀληθειῶν μεγάλαί ἐσσι καὶ αἱ τιμωρίαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν.

(x) MYCERINUS. He was the son of Cheops, but of a character opposite to that of his father. So far from walking in his steps, he detested his conduct, and pursued quite different measures. He again opened the temples of the gods, restored the sacrifices, did all that lay in his power to comfort his subjects, and make them forget their past miseries; and believed himself set over them for no other purpose but to exercise justice, and to make them taste all the blessings of an equitable and peaceful administration. He heard their complaints, dried their tears, eased their misery, and thought himself not so much the master as the father of his people. This procured him the love of them all. Egypt resounded with his praises, and his name commanded veneration in all places.

One would naturally have concluded, that so prudent and humane a conduct must have drawn down on Mycerinus the protection of the gods. But it happened far otherwise. His misfortunes began from the death of a darling and only daughter, in whom his whole felicity consisted. He ordered extraordinary honours to be paid to her memory, which were still continued in Herodotus's time. This historian informs us, that in the city of Sais, exquisite odours were burnt, in the day-time, at the tomb of this princess; and that it was illuminated with a lamp by night.

He was told by an oracle, that his reign would continue but seven years. And as he complained of this to the gods, in enquiring the reason why so long and prosperous a reign had been indulged his father and uncle, who were equally cruel and impious; whilst his own, which he had endeavoured so carefully to render as equitable and mild as it was possible for him to do, should be so short and unhappy: he was answered, that these were the very causes of it, it being the will of the gods, to oppress and afflict Egypt, during the space of 150 years, as a punishment for its crimes; and

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that

(x) Herod. l. ii. p. 139, 140. Diod. p. 52.

that his reign, which was appointed like those of the preceding monarchs to be of fifty years continuance, was shortened on account of his too great lenity. Mycerinus likewise built a pyramid, but much inferior in dimensions to that of his father.

(y) **ASYCHIS.** He enacted the law relating to loans, which forbids a son to borrow money without giving the dead body of his father by way of security for it. The law added, that in case the son took no care to redeem his father's body, by restoring the loan, both himself and his children should be deprived for ever of the rights of sepulture.

He valued himself for having surpassed all his predecessors, by the building a pyramid of brick, more magnificent, if this king was to be credited, than any hitherto seen. The following inscription, by its founder's order, was engraved upon it. **COMPARE ME NOT WITH PYRAMIDS BUILT OF STONE; WHICH I AS MUCH EXCELL AS JUPITER DOES ALL THE OTHER GODS*.**

If we suppose the six preceding reigns (the exact duration of some of which is not fixed by Herodotus) to have continued one hundred and seventy years, there will remain an interval of near three hundred years, to the reign of Sabachus the Ethiopian. In this interval I shall place a few circumstances related in holy scripture.

(z) **PHARAOH**, king of Egypt, gives his daughter in marriage to Solomon king of Israel; who received her in that part of Jerusalem, called the city of David, till he had built her a palace.

SESACH or **Shishak**, otherwise called **Sefonchis**.

(a) It was to him, that Jeroboam fled, to avoid the wrath of Solomon, who intended to kill him. He
abode

(y) Herod. l. ii. c. 136. (z) A. M. 2991. Ant. J. C. 1013. 1 Kings iii. 1. (a) A. M. 3026. Ant. J. C. 978. 1 Kings xi. 40. and c. xii.

* The remainder of the inscription, (*πλῆθος εἰσεσαν*) out of the mud as we find it in Herodotus, is—for which stuck to them, and gave me this form.
bottom of the lake, drew bricks

abode in Egypt till Solomon's death, and then returned to Jerusalem, when putting himself at the head of the rebels, he won from Rehoboam the son of Solomon, ten tribes, over whom he declared himself king.

This Sefach, in the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam marched against Jerusalem, because the Jews had transgressed against the Lord. (b) He came with twelve hundred chariots of war, and sixty thousand horse. He had brought numberless multitudes of people, who were all * Libyans. Troglodytes, and Ethiopians. He seized upon all the strongest cities of Judah, and advanced as far as Jerusalem. Then the king, and the princes of Israel, having humbled themselves and asked the protection of the God of Israel; he told them, by his prophet Shemaiah, that he would not, because they humbled themselves, destroy them all as they had deserved; but that they should be the servants of Sefach: in order *that they might know the difference of his service, and the service of the kingdoms of the † country.* Sefach retired from Jerusalem, after having plundered the treasures of the house of the Lord, and of the king's house; he carried off every thing with him, *and even also the 300 shields of gold which Solomon had made.*

(c) ZERAH, king of Ethiopia, and doubtless of Egypt at the same time, made war upon Afa king of Judah. His army consisted of a million of men, and three hundred chariots of war. Afa marched against him, and drawing up his army in order of battle, in full reliance on the God whom he served: "Lord, says he, it is
" nothing for thee to help whether with many, or with
" them that have no power. Help us, O Lord our God,
" for we rest on thee, and in thy name we go against this
" multitude; O Lord, thou art our God, let not man
" prevail against thee." A prayer offered up with such strong faith was heard. God struck the Ethiopians with

M 4

terror;

(b) A. M. 3033. Ant. J. C. 971. 2 Chron. xii. 1—9.

(c) A. M. 3063. Ant. J. C. 741. 2 Chron. xiv. 9—13.

* *The English version of the Bible* and the Ethiopians.
says, The Libyans, the Sukkiims, † Or, of the kingdoms of the earth.

terror; they fled, and all were irrecoverably defeated, being *destroyed before the Lord, and before his host.*

(d) **ANYSIS.** He was blind, and under his reign,

SABACHUS, king of Ethiopia, being encouraged by an oracle, entered Egypt with a numerous army, and possessed himself of it. He reigned with great clemency and justice. Instead of putting to death such criminals, as had been sentenced to die by the judges, he made them repair the causeys, on which the respective cities, to which they belonged, were situated. He built several magnificent temples, and among the rest, one in the city of Bubaste, of which Herodotus gives a long and elegant description. After a reign of fifty years, which was the time appointed by the oracle, he retired voluntarily to his old kingdom of Ethiopia; and left the throne of Egypt to Anylis, who, during this time, had concealed himself in the fens. (e) It is believed that this Sabachus was the same with SO, whose aid was implored by Hosea king of Israel, against Salmanaser king of Assyria.

SETHON. He reigned fourteen years.

(f) He is the same with Sevechus, the son of Sabacon or Sual the Ethiopian, who reigned so long over Egypt. This prince, so far from discharging the functions of a king, was ambitious of those of a priest; he causing himself to be consecrated high-priest of Vulcan. Abandoning himself entirely to superstition, he neglected to defend his kingdom by force of arms; paying no regard to military men, from a firm persuasion that he should never have occasion for their assistance; he therefore was so far from endeavouring to gain their affections, that he deprived them of their privileges, and even dispossessed them of such lands, as his predecessors had given them.

He was soon made sensible of their resentment in a war that broke out suddenly, and from which he delivered himself solely by a miraculous protection, if Herodotus may be credited, who intermixes his account of this war with a great many fabulous particulars. Sennacharib

(d) Herod. l. ii. cap. 137. Diod. l. i. p. 59. (e) A. M. 3279.
Ant. J. C. 725. 2 Kings xvii. 4. (f) A. M. 3285. Ant. J. C. 719.

rib (so Herodotus calls this prince) king of the Arabians and Assyrians, having entered Egypt with a numerous army, the Egyptian officers and soldiers refused to march against him. The high-priest of Vulcan, being thus reduced to the greatest extremity, had recourse to his god, who bid him not despond, but march courageously against the enemy with the few soldiers he could raise. Sethon obeyed the god. A small number of merchants, artificers, and others who were the dregs of the populace, joined him; and with this handful of men, he marched to Pelusium, where Sennacharib had pitched his camp. The night following, a prodigious multitude of rats entered the enemy's camp, and gnawing to pieces all their bow-strings and the thongs of their shields, rendered them incapable of making the least defence. Being disarmed in this manner, they were obliged to fly; and they retreated with the loss of a great part of their forces. Sethon, when he returned home, ordered a statue of himself to be set up in the temple of Vulcan, holding in his right hand a rat, and these words issuing out of his mouth; LET THE MAN WHO BEHOLDS ME LEARN TO REVERENCE THE GODS*.

It is very obvious that this story, as related here from Herodotus, is an alteration of that which is told in the second book of Kings. (g) We there see, that Sennacharib, king of the Assyrians, having subdued all the neighbouring nations, and seized upon all the cities of Judah, resolved to besiege Hezekiah in Jerusalem his capital city. The ministers of this holy king, in spite of his opposition, and the remonstrances of the prophet Isaiah, who promised them, in God's name, a sure and certain protection, provided they would trust in him only, sent secretly to the Egyptians and Ethiopians for succour. Their armies being united, marched to the relief of Jerusalem at the time appointed, and were met and vanquished by the Assyrian in a pitched battle. He pursued them into Egypt, and entirely laid waste the country. At his return from thence, the very night before he was

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to

(g) Chap. xviii.

* Ἐς ἐμὲ τῆς δόξης, εὐσεβὲς ἔστω.

to have given a general assault to Jerusalem, which then seemed lost to all hopes, the destroying angel made dreadful havock in the camp of the Assyrians; destroyed an hundred fourscore and five thousand men by fire and sword; and proved evidently, that they had great reason to rely, as Hezekiah had done, on the promise of the God of Israel.

This is the real fact. But as it was no ways honourable to the Egyptians, they endeavoured to turn it to their own advantage, by disguising and corrupting the circumstances of it. Nevertheless the foot-steps of this history, though so much defaced, ought yet to be highly valued, as coming from an historian of so great antiquity and authority as Herodotus.

The prophet Isaiah had foretold, at several times, that this expedition of the Egyptians, which had been concerted, seemingly, with such prudence, conducted with the greatest skill, and in which the forces of two powerful empires were united, in order to relieve the Jews, would not only be of no service to Jerusalem, but even destructive to Egypt itself, whose strongest cities would be taken, and its inhabitants of all ages and sexes led into captivity. See the 18th, 19th, 20th, 30th, 31st, &c. chapters of the second book of Kings.

It was doubtless in this period, that the ruin of the famous city No-Amon* spoken of by the prophet Nahum, happened. That prophet says, (*b*) that *she was carried away*—that *her young children were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets*—that *the enemy cast lots for her honourable men, and that all her great men were bound in chains*. He observes, that all these misfortunes befel that city, when Egypt and Ethiopia were *her strength*; which seems to refer clearly enough to the time of which

we

(*b*) iii. 8. 10.

* *The Vulgate calls that city Alexandria, to which the Hebrew gives the name of No-Amon; because Alexandria was afterwards built in the place where this stood. Dean Prideaux, after Bochart, thinks that it was Thebes surnamed Diospolis. In-*

deed, the Egyptian Amon is the same with Jupiter. But Thebes is not the place where Alexandria was since built. Perhaps there was another city there, which also was called No-Amon.

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we are here speaking, when Tharaca and Sethon had united their forces. However, this opinion is not without some difficulties, and is contradicted by some learned men. It suffices for me, to have hinted it to the reader.

(i) Till the reign of Sethon, the Egyptian priests computed three hundred and forty-one generations of men; which make eleven thousand three hundred and forty years; allowing three generations to an hundred years.

They counted the like number of priests and kings. The latter, whether gods or men, had succeeded one another without interruption, under the name of Piromis, an Egyptian word signifying good and virtuous. The Egyptian priests shewed Herodotus three hundred and forty-one wooden colossal statues of these Piromis, all ranged in order in a great hall. Such was the folly of the Egyptians, to lose themselves as it were in a remote antiquity, to which no other people pretended.

(k) THARACA. He it was who joined Sethon, with an Æthiopian army, to relieve Jerusalem. After the death of Sethon, who had sat fourteen years on the throne, Tharaca ascended it, and reigned eighteen years. He was the last Ethiopian king who reigned in Egypt.

After his death, the Egyptians, not being able to agree about the succession, were two years in a state of anarchy, during which there were great disorders and confusions among them.

T W E L V E K I N G S.

(l) At last, twelve of the principal noblemen, conspiring together, seized upon the kingdom, and divided it into so many parts. It was agreed by them, that each should govern his own district with equal power and authority, and that no one should attempt to invade or seize the dominions of another. They thought it necessary to make this agreement, and to bind it with the most dreadful oaths, to elude the prediction of an oracle, which had

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foretold,

(i) Herod. l. iii. cap. 142. (k) A. M. 3299. Ant. J. C. 705. Atrac. apud Syncel. p. 74. (l) A. M. 3319. Ant. J. C. 685. Herod. l. ii. cap. 147, 152. Diod. l. i. p. 59.

foretold, that he among them who should offer his libation to Vulcan out of a brazen bowl, should gain the sovereignty of Egypt. They reigned together fifteen years in the utmost harmony: and to leave a famous monument of their concord to posterity, they jointly, and at a common expence, built the famous labyrinth, which was a pile of building consisting of twelve large palaces, with as many edifices under ground as appeared above it. I have spoke elsewhere of this labyrinth.

One day, as the twelve kings were assisting at a solemn and periodical sacrifice offered in the temple of Vulcan, the priests, having presented each of them a golden bowl for the libation, one was wanting; when * Psammetichus, without any design, supplied the want of this bowl with his brazen helmet (for each wore one) and with it performed the ceremony of the libation. This accident struck the rest of the kings, and recalled to their memory the prediction of the oracle above-mentioned. They thought it therefore necessary to secure themselves from his attempts, and therefore, with one consent, banished him into the fenny parts of Egypt.

After Psammetichus had passed some years there, waiting a favourable opportunity to revenge himself for the affront which had been put upon him, a courier brought him advice, that brazen men were landed in Egypt. These were Grecian soldiers, Carians and Ionians, who had been cast upon Egypt by a storm; and were completely covered with helmets, cuirasses and other arms of brass. Psammetichus immediately called to mind the oracle, which had answered him, that he should be succoured by brazen men from the sea-coast. He did not doubt but the prediction was now fulfilled. He therefore made a league with these strangers; engaged them with great promises to stay with him; privately levied other forces; put these Greeks at their head; when giving battle to the eleven kings, he defeated them, and remained sole possessor of Egypt.

PSAMMETICHUS.

* He was one of the twelve.

PSAMMETICHUS. (*m*) As this prince owed his preservation to the Ionians and Carians, he settled them in Egypt (from which all foreigners hitherto had been excluded;) and, by assigning them sufficient lands and fixed revenues, he made them forget their native country. By his order, Egyptian children were put under their care to learn the Greek tongue; and on this occasion, and by this means, the Egyptians began to have a correspondence with the Greeks; and from that *Æra*, the Egyptian history, which till then had been intermixed with pompous fables, by the artifice of the priests, begins, according to Herodotus, to speak with greater truth and certainty.

As soon as Psammetichus was settled on the throne, he engaged in war against the king of Assyria, on account of the limits of the two empires. This war was of long continuance. Ever since Syria had been conquered by the Assyrians, Palestine, being the only country that separated the two kingdoms, was the subject of continual discord; as afterwards between the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ. They were eternally contending for it, and it was alternately won by the stronger. Psammetichus, seeing himself the peaceable possessor of all Egypt, and having restored the ancient form of government*, thought it high time for him to look to his frontiers; and to secure them against the Assyrian, his neighbour, whose power increased daily. For this purpose he entered Palestine at the head of an army.

Perhaps we are to refer to the beginning of this war, an incident related by (*n*) Diodorus: That the Egyptians, provoked to see the Greeks posted on the right wing by the king himself in preference to them, quitted the service, they being upwards of two hundred thousand men, and retired into Ethiopia, where they met with an advantageous settlement.

(*o*) Be this as it will, Psammetichus entered Palestine, where his career was stopped by Azotus, one of the principal

(*m*) A. M. 3334. Ant. J. C. 670. Herod l. ii. c. 153, 154.

(*n*) Lib. i. p. 61. (*o*) Diod. c. 157.

* This revolution happened about seven years after the captivity of Manasseth king of Judah.

capital cities of the country, which gave him so much trouble, that he was forced to besiege it twenty-nine years, before he could take it. This is the longest siege mentioned in ancient history.

This was anciently one of the five capital cities of the Philistines. The Egyptians, having seized it some time before, had fortified it with such care, that it was their strongest bulwark on that side. Nor could Sennacharib enter Egypt, till he had first made himself master of this city, which was taken by Tartan, one of his generals. (p) The Assyrians had possessed it hitherto; and it was not till after the long siege just now mentioned, that Egypt recovered it.

In this period, the Scythians, leaving the banks of the Palus Mæotis, made an inroad into Media, defeated Cyaxares the king of that country, and laid waste all Upper Asia, of which they kept possession during twenty-eight years. They pushed their conquests in Syria, as far as to the frontiers of Egypt. But Psammetichus marching out to meet them, prevailed so far, by his presents and entreaties, that they advanced no farther; and by that means delivered his kingdom from these dangerous enemies.

(q) Till his reign, the Egyptians had imagined themselves to be the most ancient nation upon earth. Psammetichus was desirous to prove this himself, and he employed a very extraordinary experiment for this purpose; he commanded (if we may credit the relation) two children, newly born of poor parents, to be brought up (in the country) in a hovel, that was to be kept continually shut. They were committed to the care of a shepherd, (others say, of nurses, whose tongues were cut out) who was to feed them with the milk of goats; and was commanded not to suffer any person to enter into this hut, nor himself to speak even a single word in the hearing of these children. At the expiration of two years, as the shepherd was one day coming into the hut, to feed these children, they

(p) Isa. xx. i. Herod. l. i. c. 105. (q) Herod. l. ii. c. 2, 3.

they both cried out with hands extended towards their foster-father, *beckos, beckos*. The shepherd surprized to hear a language that was quite new to him, but which they repeated frequently afterwards, sent advice of this to the king, who ordered the children to be brought before him, in order that he himself might be witness to the truth of what was told him; and accordingly both of them began in his presence, to stammer out the sounds above-mentioned. Nothing now was wanting but to enquire what nation it was that used this word; and it was found, that the Phrygians called bread by this name. From this time they were allowed the honour of antiquity, or rather of priority, which the Egyptians themselves, notwithstanding their jealousy of it, and the many ages they had possessed this glory, were obliged to resign to them. As goats were brought to these children, in order that they might feed upon their milk, and historians do not say that they were deaf; some are of opinion, that they might have learnt the word *bek*, or *bekkos*, by mimicking the cry of those creatures.

Psammetichus died in the 24th year of Josias king of Judah, and was succeeded by his son Nechao.

* NECHAO, (r) This prince is often called in scripture Pharaoh Necho.

He attempted to join the Nile to the Red-Sea, by cutting a canal from the one to the other. They are separated at the distance of at least a thousand stadia†. After an hundred and twenty thousand workmen had lost their lives in this attempt, Nechao was obliged to desist. The oracle which had been consulted by him, having answered, that this new canal would open a passage to the Barbarians, (for so the Egyptians called all other nations) to invade Egypt.

(s) Nechao

(r) A. M. 3388. Ant. J. C. 616. Herod. l. i. c. 158.

* He is called Necho in the English version of the scriptures.

† Allowing 625 feet (or 125 geometrical paces) to each stadium, the distance will be 118 English miles,

and a little above one-third of a mile. Herodotus says, that this design was afterwards put in execution by Darius the Persian. B. ii. c. 158.

(s) Nechao was more successful in another enterprize. Skilful Phœnician mariners, whom he had taken into his service, having sailed out of the Red-Sea to discover the coasts of Africk, went successfully round them; and the third year after their setting out, returned to Egypt through the Straits of Gibraltar. This was a very extraordinary voyage, in an age when the compass was not known. It was made twenty-one centuries before Vasco de Gama, a Portuguese, (by discovering the Cape of Good Hope, in the year 1497) found out the very same way to sail to the Indies, by which these Phœnicians had come from thence into the Mediterranean.

(t) The Babylonians and Medes having destroyed Nineveh, and with it the empire of the Assyrians, were thereby become so formidable, that they drew upon themselves the jealousy of all their neighbours. Nechao, alarmed at the danger, advanced to the Euphrates, at the head of a powerful army, in order to check their progress. Josiah, king of Judah, so famous for his uncommon piety, observing that he took his rout through Judea, resolved to oppose his passage. With this view, he raised all the forces of his kingdom, and posted himself in the valley of Megiddo, (a city on this side Jordan, belonging to the tribe of Manasseh, and called Magdolus by Herodotus.) Nechao informed him by a herald, that his enterprize was not designed against him; that he had other enemies in view, and that he had undertook this war, in the name of God, who was with him; that for this reason he advised Josiah not to concern himself with this war, for fear lest it otherwise should turn to his disadvantage. However, Josiah was not moved by these reasons: he was sensible that the bare march of so powerful an army through Judea, would entirely ruin it. And besides, he feared that the victor, after the defeat of the Babylonians, would fall upon him, and dispossess him of part of his dominions. He therefore marched to engage Nechao; and was not only overthrown by him, but unfortunately received

(s) Herod. l. iv. c. 42. (t) Joseph. Antiq. l. x. 3 6. 2 Kings xxiii. 29. 30. 2 Chron. xxxv. 20—25.

received a wound, of which he died at Jerusalem, whither he had ordered himself to be carried.

Nechao, animated by this victory, continued his march, and advanced towards the Euphrates. He defeated the Babylonians; took Carchemish, a large city in that country; and securing to himself the possession of it, by a strong garrison, returned to his own kingdom, after having been absent three months from it.

(u) Being informed in his march homeward, that Jehoaz had caused himself to be proclaimed king at Jerusalem, without first asking his consent, he commanded him to meet him at Riblah in Syria. The unhappy prince was no sooner arrived there, but he was put in chains by Nechao's order, and sent prisoner to Egypt, where he died. From thence, pursuing his march, he came to Jerusalem, where he gave the scepter to Eliakim (called by him Jehoiakim) another of Joliah's sons, in the room of his brother; and imposed an annual tribute on the land, of an hundred talents of silver, and one talent of gold*. This being done, he returned in triumph to Egypt.

(x) Herodotus, mentioning this king's expedition, and the victory gained by him at †Magdolus, (as he calls it) says, that he afterwards took the city Cadytis, which he represents as situated in the mountains of Palestine, and equal in extent to Sardis, the capital at that time not only of Lidya, but of all Asia Minor: This description can suit only Jerusalem, which was situated in the manner above described, and was then the only city in those parts that could be compared to Sardis. It appears besides from scripture, that Nechao, after his victory, won this capital of Judea; for he was there in person, when he gave the crown to Jehoiakim. The very name Cadytis, which

(u) 4 Reg. xxiii. 33, 35. 2 P. al. xxvi. 1, 4 (x) Lib. ii, c. 159.

* The Hebrew silver talent, according to Dr. Cumberland, is equivalent to 355*l.* 11*s.* 10*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$ so that 100 talents

English money, make	—	35359 <i>l.</i>	7 <i>s.</i>	6 <i>d.</i>
The gold talent according to the same	—	5075 <i>l.</i>	15 <i>s.</i>	7 <i>d.</i> $\frac{1}{2}$

The amount of the whole tribute	—	40435 <i>l.</i>	3 <i>s.</i>	1 <i>d.</i> $\frac{1}{2}$
† Megiddo.				

which in Hebrew signifies the Holy, points clearly to the city of Jerusalem, as is proved by the learned dean Prideaux*.

(y) Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, observing that since the taking of Carchemish by Nechao, all Syria and Palestine had shaken off their allegiance to him; and that his years and infirmities would not permit him to march against the rebels in person, he therefore associated his son Nabuchodonosor, or Nebuchadnezzar, with him in the empire, and sent him at the head of an army into those countries. (z) This young prince vanquished the army of Nechao near the river Euphrates, recovered Carchemish, and reduced the revolted provinces to their allegiance, as (a) Jeremiah had foretold. Thus he dispossessed the Egyptians of all that belonged to them, from the † little (b) river of Egypt to the Euphrates, which comprehended all Syria and Palestine.

Nechao dying after he had reigned sixteen years, left the kingdom to his son.

PSAMMIS. (c) His reign was but of six years, and history has left us nothing memorable concerning him, except that he made an expedition into Ethiopia.

It

(y) A. M. 3397. Ant. J. C. 607. (z) Jer. xvi. 2, &c.

(a) 2 Kings xxiv. 7. (b) A rivo Ægypti. (c) A. M. 3404.

Ant. J. C. 600. Herod. l. ii. c. 160.

* From the time that Solomon, by means of his temple, had made Jerusalem the common place of worship to all Israel, it was distinguished from the rest of the cities by the epithet Holy, and in the Old Testament was called Air Hakkodesh, i. e. the city of holiness, or the holy city. It bore this title upon the coins, and the shekel was inscribed Jerusalem Kedusha, i. e. Jerusalem the holy. At length Jerusalem, for brevity sake, was omitted, and only Kedusha reserved. The Syriac being the prevailing language in Herodotus's time, Kedusha, by a change in that dialect of sh into th, was made Kedutha; and Hero-

dotus giving it a Greek termination, it was writ Kādurti, or Cadytis. Prideaux's Connection of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. Part I. p. 80, 81. 8vo. Edit.

† This little river of Egypt, so often mentioned in scripture, as the boundary of Palestine towards Egypt, was not the Nile, but a small river, which running through the desert that lay betwixt those two nations, was anciently the common boundary of both. So far the land, which had been promised to the posterity of Abraham, and divided among them by lot, extended.

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It was to this prince that the Eleans sent a splendid embassy, after having instituted the Olympick games. They had established the whole with such care, and made such excellent regulations, that, in their opinion, nothing seemed wanting to their perfection, and envy itself could not find any fault with them. (d) However, they did not desire so much to have the opinion, as to gain the approbation of the Egyptians, who were looked upon as the wisest and most judicious people in the world. Accordingly the king assembled the sages of his nation. After all things had been heard, which could be said in favour of this institution, the Eleans were asked, if the citizens and foreigners were admitted indifferently to these games; to which answer was made, that they were open to every one. To this the Egyptian replied, that the rules of justice would have been more strictly observed, had foreigners only been admitted to these combats; because it was very difficult for the judges, in their award of the victory and the prize, not to be prejudiced in favour of their fellow-citizens.

APRIES. (c) In scripture he is called Pharaoh-Hophra; and, succeeding his father Psammis, reigned twenty-five years.

During the first years of his reign, he was as happy as any of his predecessors. He carried his arms into Cyprus; besieged the city of Sidon by sea and land; took it, and made himself master of all Phœnicia and Palestine.

So rapid a success elated his heart to a prodigious degree, and, as Herodotus informs us, swelled him with so much pride and infatuation, that he boasted, it was not in the power of the gods themselves to dethrone him; so great was the idea he had formed to himself of the firm establishment of his own power. It was with a view to these arrogant conceits, that Ezekiel put the vain and impious words following into his mouth: (f) *My river is mine own, and I have made it for myself.* But the true God proved to him afterwards that he had a master, and that he was

(p) Herod. l. i. c. 160. (e) A. M. 3410. Ant. J. C. 594. Jer. xlii. 30. Herod. l. ii. c. 161. Diod. l. ii. p. 72. (f) xxix. 3.

was a mere man; and he had threatened him long before, by his prophets, with all the calamities he was resolved to bring upon him, in order to punish him for his pride.

A little after Orpha had ascended the throne, Zedekiah (*g*), king of Judah, sent an embassy, and concluded a mutual alliance with him; and the year following, breaking the oath of fidelity he had taken to the king of Babylon, he rebelled openly against him.

Notwithstanding God had so often forbid his people to have recourse to Egypt, or put any confidence in the people of it, notwithstanding the repeated calamities in which they had been involved, for their having relied on the Egyptians, they still thought this nation their most sure refuge in danger; and accordingly could not forbear applying to it. This they had already done in the reign of the holy king Hezekiah; and which gave occasion to God's message to his people, by the mouth of his prophet Isaiah (*h*). "Wo to them that go down to Egypt for help, and stay on horses and trust in chariots, because they are many; but they look not unto the holy One of Israel, neither seek the Lord. The Egyptians are men and not God, and their horses flesh, not spirit: when the Lord shall stretch out his hand, both he that helpeth shall fall, and he that is holpen shall fall down, and they shall fall together." But neither the prophet nor the king were heard; and nothing but the most fatal experience could open their eyes, and make them see evidently the truth of God's threatenings.

The Jews behaved in the very same manner on this occasion. Zedekiah, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of Jeremiah to the contrary, resolved to conclude an alliance with the Egyptian monarch, who, puffed up with the success of his arms, and confident that nothing could resist his power, declared himself the protector of Israel, and promised to deliver it from the tyranny of Nabuchodonosor. But God, offended that a mortal had thus dared to intrude himself into his place, expressed his mind to another prophet, as follows. (*i*) "Son of man, set thy

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(*g*) Ezek. xvii. 15.

(*h*) xxxi. 1, 3.

(*i*) Ezek. xxix. 2, 3, 4.

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"face against Pharaoh king of Egypt, and prophecy
 "against him, and against all Egypt. Speak and say,
 "Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I am against thee,
 "Pharaoh king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in
 "the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My river is
 "my own, and I have made it for my self. But I will
 "put hooks in thy jaws," &c. God, after comparing
 him to a reed, which breaks under the man who leans
 upon it, and wounds his hand, adds, (*k*) "Behold, I will
 "bring a sword upon thee, and cut off man and beast out
 "of thee; the land of Egypt shall be desolate, and they
 "shall know that I am the Lord, because he hath said,
 "The river is mine, and I have made it." The same
 (*l*) prophet, in several succeeding chapters, continues to
 foretel the calamities with which Egypt was going to be
 overwhelmed.

Zedekiah was far from giving credit to these predictions.
 When he heard of the approach of the Egyptian army,
 and saw Nabuchodonosor raise the siege of Jerusalem, he
 fancied that his deliverance was completed, and antici-
 pated a triumph. His joy, however, was but of short
 duration; for the Egyptians seeing the Chaldeans ad-
 vancing forward again, did not dare to encounter so nu-
 merous and well-disciplined an army. (*m*) They therefore
 marched back into their own country, and left the unfor-
 tunate Zedekiah exposed to all the dangers of a war in
 which they themselves had involved him. Nabuchodo-
 nosor again sat down before Jerusalem; took and burnt
 it, as Jeremiah had prophesied.

(*n*) Many years after, the chastisements with which
 God had threatened Apries (Pharaoh Hophra) began to fall
 upon him. For the Cyrenians, a Greek colony, which
 had settled in Africa, between Libya and Egypt, having
 seized upon, and divided among themselves a great part
 of the country belonging to the Libyans; forced these
 nations, who were thus dispossessed by violence, to throw
 themselves

(*k*) Ezek. xxix. 8, 9. (*l*) Chap. xxix. xxx, xxxi, xxxii. (*m*) A. M.
 3416. Ant. J. C. 588. Jer. xxxvii. (*n*) A. M. 3430. Ant. J. C. 574.
 Herod. l. ii. c. 161, &c. Diod. l. i. p. 62.

themselves into the arms of this prince, and implore his protection. Immediately Apries sent a mighty army into Libya, to oppose the Cyrenian Greeks; but this army being entirely defeated and almost cut to pieces, the Egyptians imagined that Apries had sent it into Libya, only to get it destroyed; and by that means, to attain the power of governing his subjects without check or control. This reflection prompted the Egyptians to shake off the yoke which had been laid on them by their prince, whom they now considered as their enemy. But Apries, hearing of the rebellion, dispatched Amasis, one of his officers, to suppress it, and force the rebels to return to their allegiance. But the moment Amasis began to make his speech, they fixed a helmet upon his head, in token of the exalted dignity to which they intended to raise him, and proclaimed him king. Amasis having accepted the crown, staid with the mutineers, and confirmed them in their rebellion.

Apries, more exasperated than ever at this news, sent Paterbemis, another of his great officers, and one of the principal lords of his court, to put Amasis under an arrest, and bring him before him; but Paterbemis not being able to execute his commands, and bring away the rebel, as he was surrounded with the instruments of his treachery, was treated by Apries at his return in the most ignominious and inhuman manner; for, his nose and ears were cut off by the command of that prince, who never considered, that only his want of power had prevented his executing his commission. So bloody an outrage, done to a person of such high distinction, exasperated the Egyptians so much, that the greatest part of them joined the rebels, and the insurrection became general. Apries was now forced to retire into Upper Egypt, where he supported himself some years, during which Amasis enjoyed the rest of his dominions.

The troubles which thus distracted Egypt, afforded Nabuchodonosor a favourable opportunity to invade that kingdom; and it was God himself inspired him with the resolution. This prince, who was the instrument of

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God's wrath (though he did not know himself to be so) against a people whom he was resolved to chastise, had just before taken Tyre, where himself and his army had laboured under incredible difficulties. To recompense their toils, God abandoned Egypt to their arms. It is wonderful to hear the Creator himself delivering his thoughts on this subject. There are few passages in scripture more remarkable than this, or which give a stronger idea of the supreme authority which God exercises over all the princes and kingdoms of the earth. (o) "Son of man, (says the Almighty to his prophet Ezekiel) "Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon caused his army to "serve a great service against Tyrus: Every head was "made bald, and every shoulder was peeled*: Yet had "he no wages, nor his army, †for the service he had "served against it. Therefore thus saith the Lord God, "Behold I will give the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and he shall take her multitude, and take her spoil, and take her prey, and it "shall be the wages for his army. I have given him the "land of Egypt for his labour, wherewith he served "against it, because they wrought for me, saith the Lord God." Says another prophet, (p) "He shall array himself with the land of Egypt, as a shepherd putteth on "his garment, and he shall go forth from thence in peace." Thus shall he load himself with booty, and thus cover his own shoulders, and those of his fold, with all the spoils of Egypt. Noble expressions! which shew the prodigious ease with which all the power and riches of a kingdom

(o) Ezek. xxix. 18, 19, 20.

* The baldness of the heads of the Babylonians, was owing to the pressure of their helmets; and their peeled shoulders to their carrying baskets of earth, and large pieces of timber, to join Tyre to the continent. Baldness was itself a badge of slavery; and, joined to the peeled shoulders, shews that the conqueror's army sustained even the most servile labours in this memorable siege.

† For the better understanding of

(p) Jerem. xliii. 12.

this passage, we are to know, that Nabuchodonosor sustained incredible hardships at the siege of Tyre; and that when the Tyrians saw themselves closely attacked, the nobles conveyed themselves, and their richest effects, on ship-board, and retired into other islands. So that when Nabuchodonosor took the city, he found nothing to recompense his losses, and the troubles he had undergone in this siege. S. Hieron.

kingdom are carried away, when God appoints the revolution; and shift like a garment, to a new owner, who has no more to do but to take it, and cloath himself with it.

The king of Babylon taking advantage therefore of the intestine divisions, which the rebellion of Amasis had occasioned in that kingdom, marched thither at the head of his army. He subdued Egypt from Migdol or Magdol, a town on the frontiers of it, as far as Syene, in the opposite extremity where it borders on Ethiopia. He made a horrible devastation wherever he came; killed a great number of the inhabitants, and made such dreadful havock in the country, that the damage could not be repaired in forty years. Nabuchodonosor, having loaded his army with spoils, and conquered the whole kingdom, came to an accommodation with Amasis; and leaving him as his viceroy there, returned to Babylon.

(*q*) APRIES (Pharaoh-Hophra) now leaving the place where he had concealed himself, advanced towards the sea-coast (probably towards Libya;) and hiring an army of Carians, Ionians, and other foreigners, he marched against Amasis, whom he fought near Memphis; but being overcome, Apries was taken prisoner, carried to the city of Sais, and there strangled in his own palace.

The Almighty had given, by the mouth of his prophets, an astonishing relation of the several circumstances of this mighty event. It was he who had broke the power of Apries, which was once so formidable; and put the sword into the hand of Nabuchodonosor, in order that he might chastise and humble that haughty prince.

(*r*) "I am, said he, against Pharaoh king of Egypt, and will break his arms which were strong, but now are broken; and I will cause the sword to fall out of his hand.—(*s*) But I will strengthen the arms of the king of Babylon, and put my sword into his hand.—(*t*) And they shall know that I am the Lord."

He

(*q*) Herod. l. ii. c. 163, 169. Diod. l. i. p. 72. (*r*) Ezek. xxx. 24.

(*s*) 24. (*t*) Ezek. xxx. 25.

He enumerates the towns which were to fall a prey to the victors; (u) Pathros, Zoan, No (called in the vulgate Alexandria) Sin, Aven, Phibefeth, &c.*

He takes notice particularly of the unhappy end, to which the captive king should come. (x) "Thus saith the Lord, behold I will give Pharaoh-Hophra, the king of Egypt, into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life."

Lastly he declares, that during forty years, the Egyptians shall be oppressed with every species of calamity, and be reduced to so deplorable a state, (y) "That there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt." The event verified this prophecy. Soon after the expiration of these forty years, Egypt was made a province of the Persian empire, and has been governed ever since by foreigners. For since the ruin of the Persian monarchy, it has been subject successively to the Macedonians, the Romans, the Saracens, the Mamalukes, and lastly to the Turks, who possess it at this day.

(z) God was not less punctual in the accomplishment of his prophecies, with regard to such of his own people, as had retired, contrary to his prohibition, into Egypt, after the taking of Jerusalem; and forced Jeremiah along with them. The instant they had reached Egypt, and were arrived at Taphnis (or Tanis) the prophet, after having hid in their presence (by God's command) stones in a grotto, which was near the king's palace; he declared to them, that Nabuchodonosar should soon arrive in Egypt, and that God would establish his throne in that very place; that this prince would lay waste the whole kingdom, and carry fire and sword into all places; that themselves should fall into the hand of these cruel enemies, when one part of them would be massacred, and the rest led captive to Babylon; that only a very small

(u) Ezek. ver. 14, 17. (x) Jerem. xlv. 30. (y) Ezek. xxx. 15.

(z) Jerem. Chap. xliii, xlv.

* I have given the names of these towns as they stand in our English version. In the margin are printed against Zoan, Tanis; against Sion, Pelusium; against Aven, Heliopolis against Phibefeth, Bubastum (Bubaste); and by these last names they are mentioned in the original.

number should escape the common desolation, and be at last restored to their country. All these prophecies had their accomplishment in the appointed time.

AMASIS. After the death of Apries, Amasis became peaceable possessor of Egypt, and reigned forty years over it. He was, according to (a) Plato, a native of the city of Sais.

(b) As he was but of mean extraction, he met with no respect, but was only contemned by his subjects, in the beginning of his reign: he was not insensible of this; but nevertheless thought it his interest to subdue their tempers by an artful carriage, and win their affection by gentleness and reason. He had a golden cistern, in which himself, and those persons who were admitted to his table, used to wash their feet: he melted it down, and had it cast into a statue, and then exposed the new god to publick worship. The people hastened in crowds to pay their adoration to the statue. The king, having assembled the people, informed them of the vile uses to which this statue had once been put, which nevertheless had now their religious prostrations! the application was easy, and had the desired success; the people thenceforward paid the king all the respect that is due to majesty.

(c) He always used to devote the whole morning to publick affairs, in order to receive petitions, give audience, pronounce sentence, and hold his councils; the rest of the day was given to pleasure; and as Amasis, in hours of diversion, was extremely gay, and seemed to carry his mirth beyond due bounds; his courtiers took the liberty to represent to him the unsuitableness of such a behaviour; when he answered, that it was as impossible for the mind to be always serious and intent upon business, as for a bow to continue always bent.

It was this king who obliged the inhabitants of every town to enter their names in a book kept by the magistrate for that purpose, with their profession, and manner of living. Solon inserted this custom among his laws.

He

(a) A. M. 3435. Ant. J. C. 569. In Tim.

(c) Ibid. cap. 73.

(b) Herod. l. ii. c. 171.

He built many magnificent temples, especially at Sais the place of his birth. Herodotus admired especially a chapel there, formed of one single stone, and which was twenty-one cubits * in front, fourteen in depth, and eight in height; its dimensions within were not quite so large: it had been brought from Elephantina, and two thousand men had employed three years in conveying it along the Nile.

Amasis had a great esteem for the Greeks. He granted them large privileges; and permitted such of them as were desirous of settling in Egypt, to live in the city of Naucratis, so famous for its harbour. When the rebuilding of the temple of Delphi, which had been burnt, was debated on, and the expence was computed at three hundred talents †, Amasis furnished the Delphians with a very considerable sum towards discharging their quota, which was the fourth part of the whole charge.

He made an alliance with the Cyrenians, and married a wife among them.

He is the only king of Egypt who conquered the island of Cyprus, and made it tributary.

Under his reign Pythagoras came into Egypt, being recommended to that monarch by the famous Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, who had contracted a friendship with Amasis, and will be mentioned hereafter. Pythagoras, during his stay in Egypt, was initiated in all the mysteries of the country; and instructed by the priests in whatever was most abstruse and important in their religion. It was here he imbibed his doctrine of the Metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls.

In the expedition in which Cyrus conquered so great a part of the world, Egypt doubtless was subdued, like the rest of the provinces; and Xenophon declares this in the beginning of his Cyropedia or Institution of that Prince. Probably, after that the forty years of desolation, which had been prophesied by the prophet, were expired, Egypt beginning gradually to recover itself, Amasis shook off the yoke, and recovered his liberty.

N 2

Accordingly

* The cubit is one foot and almost ten inches. Vide supra.

† Or, 58125*l.* sterling.

Accordingly we find, that one of the first cares of Cambyfes the fon of Cyrus, after he had afcended the throne, was to carry his arms into Egypt. On his arrival there, Amafis was juft dead, and fucceeded by his fon Pſammenitus.

(d) PSAMMENITUS. Cambyfes, after having gained a battle, purſued the enemy to Memphis; beſieged the city, and ſoon took it: however, he treated the king with clemency, granted him his life, and aſſigned him an honourable penſion; but being informed that he was ſecretly concerting meaſures to re-aſcend his throne, he put him to death. Pſammenitus reigned but ſix months: all Egypt ſubmitted immediately to the victor. The particulars of this hiſtory will be related more at large, when I come to that of Cambyfes.

Here ends the ſucceſſion of the Egyptian kings. From this æra the hiſtory of this nation, as was before obſerved, will be blended with that of the Perſians and Greeks, till the death of Alexander. At that period, a new monarchy will ariſe in Egypt, founded by Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus, which will continue to Cleopatra, that is, for about three hundred years. I ſhall treat each of theſe ſubjects, in the ſeveral periods to which they belong.

(d) A. M. 3479. Ant. J. C. 525.

* Ἐπὶ τῇ ἐξοδῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἑβραϊκῇ καὶ κυπρίῳ καὶ ἀλγυπτίῳ, p. 5, Edit. Hutchinſoni.

BOOK THE SECOND.

THE HISTORY OF THE CARTHAGINIANS.

I Shall divide the following history of the Carthaginians, into two parts. In the first, I shall give a general idea of the manners of that people, their character, government, religion, power, and riches. In the second, after relating in few words, by what steps Carthage established and enlarged its power, I shall give an account of the wars by which it became so famous.

PART THE FIRST.

CHARACTER, MANNERS, RELIGION, and
GOVERNMENT of the CARTHAGINIANS.

SECT. I.

Carthage formed after the model of Tyre, of which that city was a colony.

THE Carthaginians were indebted to the Tyrians, not only for their origin, but their manners, language, customs, laws, religion, and their great application to commerce, as will appear from every part of the sequel. They spoke the same language with the Tyrians, and these the same with the Canaanites and Israelites, that is, the Hebrew tongue, or at least a language which

was entirely derived from it. Their names had commonly some particular meaning: (a) Thus *Hanno* signified *gracious, bountiful*; *Dido*, *amiable, or well beloved*; *Sophonisba*, *one who keeps faithfully her husband's secrets*. From a spirit of religion, they likewise joined the name of God to their own, conformably to the genius of the Hebrews. *Hannibal*, which answers to *Ananias*, signifies *Baal [or the Lord] has been gracious to me*. *Asdrubal*, answering to *Azarias*, implies *the Lord will be our succour*. It is the same with other names, *Adherbal*, *Maharbal*, *Mastanabal*, &c. The word *Phœni*, from which *Punic* is derived, is the same with *Phœni* or *Phœnicians*, because they came originally from *Phœnicia*. In the *Pœnulus* of *Plautus* is a scene written in the *Punic* tongue, which has very much exercised the learned*.

But the strict union which always subsisted between the *Phœnicians* and *Carthaginians* is still more remarkable. (b) When *Cambyfes* had resolved to make war upon the latter, the *Phœnicians*, who formed the chief strength of his fleet, told him plainly, that they could not serve him against their countrymen; and this declaration obliged that prince to lay aside his design. The *Carthaginians*, on their side, were never forgetful of the country from whence they came, and to which they owed their origin. (c) They sent regularly every year to *Tyre*, a ship freighted with presents, as a quit-rent or acknowledgement paid to their ancient country; and its tutelar gods had an annual sacrifice offered to them by the *Carthaginians*, who considered them as their protectors. They never failed to send thither the first fruits of their revenues; nor the tithe of the spoils taken from their enemies, as offerings to *Hercules*, one of the principal gods of *Tyre* and *Carthage*. The *Tyrians*, to secure from *Alexander* (who was then besieging their city) what they valued above all things, I mean their wives and children, sent them to *Carthage*, where, at a time that the inhabitants of the latter were involved

(a) Bochart. Part. II. l. ii. c. 16.

(b) Herod. l. iii. c. 17—19.

(c) Polyb. 944. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 2, 3.

* The first scene of the fifth act, translated into Latin by *Petit*, in the second book of his *Miscellanies*.

involved in a furious war, they were received and entertained with such a kindness and generosity as might be expected from the most tender and opulent parents. Such uninterrupted testimonies of a warm and sincere gratitude, do a nation more honour, than the greatest conquests, and the most glorious victories.

SECT. II. *The Religion of the CARTHAGINIANS.*

IT appears from several passages of the history of Carthage, that its generals looked upon it as an indispensable duty to begin and end all their enterprizes with the worship of the gods. (*d*) Hamilcar, father of the great Hannibal, before he entered Spain in a hostile manner, offered up a sacrifice to the gods; and his son treading in his steps, before he left Spain, and marched against Rome, went to Cadiz in order to pay the vows he made to Hercules; and to offer up new ones, in case that god should be propitious to him. (*e*) After the battle of Cannæ, when he acquainted the Carthaginians with the joyful news, he recommended to them above all things, the offering up a thanksgiving to the immortal gods, for the several victories he had obtained. *Pro his tantis totque victoriis verum esse grates diis immortalibus agi haberique.*

Nor was this religious honouring of the deity on all occasions the ambition of particular persons only; but was the genius and disposition of the whole nation.

(*f*) Polybius has transmitted to us a treaty of peace concluded between Philip, son of Demetrius king of Macedon, and the Carthaginians, in which the great respect and veneration of the latter for the deity, their inherent persuasion that the gods assist and preside over human affairs, and particularly over the solemn treaties made in their name and presence, are strongly displayed. Mention is therein made of five or six different orders of deities; and this enumeration appears very extraordinary in a publick instrument, such as a treaty of peace concluded

N 4

(*d*) Liv. l. xxi. n. 1. Ibid. n. 21.

(*e*) Liv. l. xxiii. n. 12.

(*f*) L. vii. p. 699. Edit. Gronov.

cluded between two nations. I will here present my reader with the very words of the historian, as it will give some idea of the Carthaginian theology. *This treaty was concluded in the presence of Jupiter, Juno, and Apollo; in the presence of the daemon or genius (δαίμονος) of the Carthaginians, of Hercules and Iolaus; in the presence of Mars, Triton, and Neptune; in the presence of all the confederate gods of the Carthaginians; and of the sun, the moon, and the earth; in the presence of the rivers, meads, and waters; in the presence of all these gods who possess Carthage; what would we now say to an instrument of this kind, in which the tutelar angels and saints of a kingdom should be introduced?*

The Carthaginians had two deities, to whom they paid a more particular worship, and who deserve to have some mention made of them in this place.

The first was the goddess Cœlestis, called likewise Urania or the Moon, who was invoked in great calamities, and particularly in droughts, in order to obtain rain: (g) That very virgin Cœlestis, says Tertullian, the promiser of rain, *Ista ipsa virgo Cœlestis pluviarum pollicitrix*. Tertullian, speaking of this goddess and of Æsculapius, makes the heathens of that age a challenge, which is bold indeed, but at the same time very glorious to the cause of Christianity; and declares, that any Christian, who first comes, shall oblige these false gods to confess publicly that they are but devils; and consents that this Christian shall be immediately killed, if he does not extort such a confession from the mouth of these gods. *Nisi se daemones confessi fuerint Christiano mentiri non audentes, ibidem illius Christiani procastissimi sanguinem fundite*. St. Austin likewise makes frequent mention of this deity. (h) *What is now, says he, become of Cœlestis, whose empire was once so great in Carthage?* This was doubtless the same deity, whom (i) Jeremiah calls *the queen of heaven*; and who was held in so much reverence by the Jewish women, that they addressed their vows, burnt incense,

(g) Apolog. c. xxiii.

(h) In Psalm xcvi.

(i) Jer. vii. 18, and xlv. 17—25.

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(1) Tertul. in Apolog.
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ished by a fine; and still the child
must have been sacrificed. Plut. de
superstitione.

mind, or rather savage barbarity, was carried to such excess, that even mothers would endeavour, with embraces and kisses, to hush the cries of their children; lest, had the victim been offered with an unbecoming grace, and in the midst of tears, it should anger the god: *blanditiis & osculis comprimebant vanitum, ne flebilis hostia immolaretur* (m). They afterwards contented themselves with making their children pass through the fire; in which they frequently perished, as appears from several passages of scripture.

(n) The Carthaginians retained the barbarous custom of offering human sacrifices to their gods, till the ruin of their city*: an action which ought to have been called a sacrilege rather than a sacrifice. *Sacrilegium verius quàm sacrum*. It was suspended only for some years, from the fear they were under of drawing upon themselves the indignation and arms of Darius I. king of Persia, who forbade them the offering up of human sacrifices, and the eating the flesh of dogs: (o) but they soon resumed this horrid practice, since, in the reign of Xerxes, the successor to Darius, Gelon the tyrant of Syracuse, having gained a considerable victory over the Carthaginians in Sicily, made the following condition among other articles of peace he granted them,

viz.

(m) Minut. Felix. vindic. deorum. p. 552.

(n) Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 5.

(o) Plut. de sera

* It appears from Tertullian's *Apology*, that this barbarous custom prevailed in Africa, long after the ruin of Carthage. *Infantes penes Africam Saturno immolabantur palam usque ad proconsulatum Tiberii, qui eosdem sacerdotes in eisdem arboribus templi sui opumbraticibus scelerum votives crucibus exposuit, teste militia patriæ nostræ, quæ id ipsum munus illi proconsuli functa est, i. e. Children were publicly sacrificed to Saturn, down to the proconsulship of Tiberius, who hanged the sacrificing priests themselves on the trees which shaded their temple, as on so many crosses, raised to expiate their crimes, of*

which the militia of our country are witnesses, who were the actors of this execution at the command of this proconsul. Tertull. Apolog. c. 9. Two learned men are at variance about the proconsul, and the time of his government. Salmassius confesses his ignorance of both; but rejects the authority of Scaliger, who, for proconsulatum, reads proconsulem Tiberii, and thinks Tertullian, when he writ his Apology, had forgot his name. However this be, it is certain that the memory of the incident here related by Tertullian, was then recent, and probably the witnesses of it had not been long dead.

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viz. *That no more human sacrifices should be offered to Saturn.* And doubtless, the practice of the Carthaginians, on this very occasion, made Gelon use this precaution. (p) For during the whole engagement, which lasted from morning till night, Hamilcar, the son of Hanno their general, was perpetually offering up to the gods, sacrifices of living men, who were thrown on a flaming pile; and seeing his troops routed and put to flight, he himself rushed into the pile, in order that he might not survive his own disgrace; and to extinguish, says Ambrose, speaking of this action, with his own blood this sacrilegious fire, when he found that it had not proved of service to him*.

In times of pestilence † they used to sacrifice a great number of children to their gods, unmoved with pity for a tender age, which excites compassion in the most cruel enemies; thus seeking a remedy for their evils in guilt itself; and endeavouring to appease the gods by the most shocking kind of barbarity.

(q) Diodorus relates an instance of this cruelty which strikes the reader with horror. At the time that Agathocles was just going to besiege Carthage, its inhabitants, seeing the extremity to which they were reduced, imputed all their misfortunes to the just anger of Saturn, because that, instead of offering up children nobly born, who were usually sacrificed to him, he had been fraudulently put off with the children of slaves and foreigners. To atone for this crime, two hundred children of the best families in Carthage were sacrificed to Saturn: besides which, upwards of three hundred citizens, from a sense of their guilt of this pretended crime, voluntarily sacrificed

N 6

(p) Herod. l. vii. c. 167.

(q) L. ii. p. 756.

* In ipsos quos adolebat sese precipitavit ignes, ut eos vel cruore suo extingueret, quos sibi nihil profuisse cognoverat. *S. Amb.*

† Cum peste laborarent crucenta sacrorum religione & scelerare pro remedio usi sunt. Quippe homines ut victimas immolabant & impuberes (quæ ætas etiam

hostium misericordium prevocat) aris admovebant, pacem deorum sanguine eorum exposcentes, pro quorum vita dii maxime rogari solent. *Justin.* l. xviii. c. 6. *The Gauls as well as Germans used to sacrifice men, if Dionysius and Tacitus may be credited.*

sacrificed themselves. Diodorus adds, that Saturn had a brazen statue, the hands of which were turned downward; so that when a child was laid on them, it dropped immediately into a hollow, where was a fiery furnace.

Can this, says (r) Plutarch, be called worshipping the gods? Can we be said to entertain an honourable idea of them, if we suppose that they are pleased with slaughter, thirsty of human blood, and capable of requiring or accepting such offerings? (s) Religion, says the judicious author, is placed between two rocks, that are equally dangerous to man, and injurious to the deity, I mean impiety and superstition. The one, from an affectation of free-thinking, believes nothing; and the other, from a blind weakness, believes all things. Impiety, to rid itself of a terror which galls it, denies the very existence of the gods: whilst superstition, to calm its fears, capriciously forges gods, which it makes not only the friends, but protectors and models of crimes. (t) Had it not been better, says he further, for the Carthaginians to have had a Critias, a Diagoras, and such like open and undisguised atheists for their lawgivers, than to have established so frantick and wicked a religion? Could the Typhons and the giants (the open enemies to the gods) had they gained a victory over them, have established more abominable sacrifices?

Such were the sentiments which a heathen entertained of this part of the Carthaginian worship. But one would scarce believe that mankind were capable of such madness and frenzy. Men do not generally entertain ideas so destructive of all those things which nature considers as most sacred; as to sacrifice, to murder their children with their own hands; and to throw them in cool blood into fiery furnaces! Such sentiments of so unnatural and barbarous a kind, and yet adopted by whole nations, and even by those that passed for civilized, as the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Gauls, Scythians, and even the Greeks and Romans; and consecrated by custom

(r) De superstitione, 169—171.

(s) Idem. in Camill. p. 132.

(t) De superstitione.

custom during a long series of ages, can have been inspired by him only, who was a murderer from the beginning; and who delights in nothing but the humiliation, misery, and perdition of man.

SECT. III. *Form of the* GOVERNMENT *of* CARTHAGE.

THE government of Carthage was founded upon principals of the most consummate wisdom, and it is with reason that (u) Aristotle ranks this republick in the number of those who were had in the greatest esteem by the ancients, and which was fit to serve as a model for others. He grounds his opinion on a reflection, which does great honour to Carthage, by remarking, that from its foundation to this time (that is upwards of five hundred years) no considerable sedition had disturbed the peace, nor any tyrant oppressed the liberty of Carthage. Indeed, mixed governments, such as that of Carthage, where the power was divided betwixt the nobles and the people, are subject to two inconveniencies; either of degenerating into an abuse of liberty by the seditions of the populace, as frequently happened at Athens, and in all the Grecian republicks; or into the oppression of the publick liberty by the tyranny of the nobles, as in Athens, Syracuse, Corinth, Thebes, and Rome itself under Sylla and Cæsar. It is therefore giving Carthage the highest praise, to observe, that it had found out the art, by the wisdom of its laws, and the harmony of the different parts of its government, to shun, during so long a series of years, two rocks that are so dangerous, and on which others are often split.

It were to be wished, that some ancient author had left us an accurate and regular description of the customs and laws of this famous republick. For want of some such assistance, we can only give our readers a confused and imperfect idea of them, by collecting the several passages which lie scattered up and down in authors. Christopher Hendrich

(u) Derep. l. ii. c. 11.

Hendrich has obliged the learned world in this particular; and * his work has been of great service to me.

(x) The government of Carthage, like that of Sparta and Rome, united three different authorities, which counterpoised and gave mutual assistance to one another. These authorities were, that of the two supreme magistrates called Suffetes †; that of the senate; and that of the people. There afterwards was added the tribunal of One Hundred, which had great credit and influence in the republick.

The SUFFETES.

The power of the Suffetes was only annual, and their authority in Carthage answered to that of the consuls at Rome ‡. In authors they are frequently called kings, dictators, consuls, because they exercised the functions of all three. History does not inform us of the manner of their election. They were empowered to assemble the senate §, in which they presided, proposed subjects for deliberation, and told the voices ||; and they likewise presided in all emergent and decisive debates. Their authority was not limited to the city, nor confined to civil affairs: they sometimes had the command of the armies. We find, that when their employment of Suffetes expired, they were made prætors, whose office was considerable, since it empowered them to preside in some causes; as also to propose and enact new laws, and to call to account the receivers of the publick revenues, as appears from what Livy (y) relates concerning Hannibal on this head, and which I shall take notice of in the sequel.

The

(x) Polyb. l. vi. 493.

* It is entitled, *Carthago, sive Carthaginiensium respublica, &c.* Francofurti ad Oderam, ann. 1664.

† This name is derived from a word, which, with the Hebrews and Phœnicians, signifies judges. Sophetim.

‡ Ut Romæ consules, sic Carthagine quotannis annui bini reges crea-

(y) L. xxxiii. n. 46, 47.

bantur. Corn. Nep. in vita Annibalis, c. 7. The great Hannibal was once one of the Suffetes.

§ Senatum itaque Suffetes, quod velut consulare imperium apud eos erat, vocaverunt. Liv. l. xxx. n. 7.

|| Cum Suffetes ad jus dicendum concedissent. Id. l. xxxiv. n. 62.

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The SENATE.

The Senate, composed of persons who were venerable on account of their age, their experience, their birth, their riches, and especially their merit; formed the council of state; and were, if I may use that expression, the soul of the publick deliberations. Their number is not exactly known: it must however have been very great, since an hundred were selected from it to form a separate assembly, of which I shall immediately have occasion to speak. In the senate, all affairs of consequence were debated, the letters from generals read, the complaints of provinces heard, ambassadors admitted to audience, and peace or war determined, as is seen on many occasions.

(z) When the sentiments and votes were unanimous, the senate decided supremely, and there lay no appeal from it. When there was a division, and the senate could not be brought to an agreement, the affair was then brought before the people, on whom the power of deciding thereby devolved. The reader will easily perceive the great wisdom of this regulation; and how happily it was adapted to crush factions, to produce harmony, and to enforce and corroborate good counsels; such an assembly being extremely jealous of its authority, and not easily prevailed upon to let it pass into other hands. Of this we have a memorable instance in (a) Polybius. When after the loss of the battle, fought in Africa, at the end of the second Punic war, the conditions of peace, offered by the victor, were read in the senate; Hannibal, observing that one of the senators opposed them, represented in the strongest terms, that as the safety of the republick lay at stake, it was of the utmost importance for the senators to be unanimous in their resolutions, to prevent such a debate from coming before the people; and he carried his point. This doubtless laid the foundation in the infancy of the republick of the senate's power, and raised its authority to so great a height. (b) And the same author observes in another place;

(z) Arist. loc. cit.
Polyb. l. vi. p. 49.

(a) L. xv. p. 776, 777.

(b) A. Carth. 487.

place; that whilst the senate had the administration of affairs, the state was governed with great wisdom, and successful in all its enterprises.

The PEOPLE.

It appears from every thing related hitherto, that so low as Aristotle's time, who gives so beautiful a draught, and bestows so noble an eulogium on the government of Carthage, the people spontaneously left the care of publick affairs, and the chief administration of them to the senate: and this it was which made the republick so powerful. But things changed afterwards. For the people, grown insolent by their wealth and conquests, and forgetting that they owed these blessings to the prudent conduct of the senate, were desirous of having a share in the government, and arrogated to themselves almost the whole power. From that period, the publick affairs were transacted wholly by cabals and factions; which Polybius assigns as one of the chief causes of the ruin of Carthage.

The Tribunal of the HUNDRED.

This was a body composed of an hundred and four persons; though often, for brevity sake, they are called the Hundred. These, according to Aristotle, were the same in Carthage, as the Ephori in Sparta; whence it appears, that they were instituted to balance the power of the nobles and senate. But with this difference, that the Ephori were but five in number, and elected annually; whereas these were perpetual, and were upwards of an hundred. It is believed, that these centumvirs are the same with the hundred judges mentioned by (c) Justin, who were taken out of the senate, and appointed to enquire into the conduct of their generals. The exorbitant power of Mago's family, which, by its engrossing the chief employments both of the state and the army, had thereby the sole direction and management of all affairs,

gave

(c) A. M. 3069. A. Carth. 487. L. xix. c. 2.

gave occasion to this establishment. It was intended as a curb to the authority of their generals, which, whilst the armies were in the field, was almost boundless and absolute; but, by this institution, it became subject to the laws; by the obligation their generals were under of giving an account of their actions before these judges, on their return from the campaign. (d) *Ut hoc metu ita in bello imperia cogitarent, ut domi judicia legesque respicerent.* Of these hundred and four judges, five had a particular jurisdiction superior to that of the rest, but it is not known how long their authority lasted. This council of five was like the council of ten in the Venetian senate. A vacancy in their number could be filled by none but themselves, they also had the power of choosing those who composed the council of the hundred. Their authority was very great, and for that reason none were elected into this office but persons of uncommon merit; and it was not judged proper to annex any salary or reward to it; the single motive of the publick good being thought a tie sufficient to engage honest men to a conscientious and faithful discharge of their duty. (e) Polybius, in his account of the taking of New Carthage by Scipio, distinguishes clearly two orders of magistrates established in Old Carthage; for he says, that among the prisoners, taken at New Carthage, were two magistrates belonging to the body or assembly of old men [*ἐκ τῆς Γερουσίας*] so he calls the council of the hundred; and fifteen of the senate [*ἐκ τῆς Συγκλήτου,*] (f) Livy mentions only the fifteen of the senators; but, in another place, he names the old men, and tells us, that they formed the most venerable council of the government, and had great authority in the senate.

* *Carthaginenses—Oratores ad pacem petendam mittunt triginta*

(d) Justin. xix. (e) L. x. p. 824. Edit. Gronov. (f) L. xxvi. n. 51. l. xxx. n. 16.

* Mr. Rollin might have taken notice of some civil officers who were established at Carthage with a power, like that of the censors of Rome, to inspect the manners of the citizens.

The chief of these officers took from Hamilcar, the father of Hannibal, a beautiful youth, named Asdrubal, on a report that Hamilcar was more familiar with this youth than was consistent

triginta seniorum principes. Id erat sanctius apud illos concilium, maximaque ad ipsum senatum regendum vis.

Establishments, though constituted with the greatest wisdom, and the justest harmony of parts, degenerate however insensibly into disorder and the most destructive licentiousness. These judges who by the lawful execution of their power were a terror to transgressors, and the great pillars of justice; abusing their almost unlimited authority, became so many petty tyrants. We shall see this verified in the history of the great Hannibal, who, during his prætorship, after his return to Africa, employed all his credit to reform so horrid an abuse, and made an authority, which before was perpetual, only annual, about two hundred years from the first founding the tribunal of the one hundred (g).

DEFECTS in the GOVERNMENT of CARTHAGE.

Aristotle, among other reflections made by him on the government of Carthage, remarks two great defects in it, both which, in his opinion, are repugnant to the views of a wise lawgiver, and the maxims of good policy.

The first of these defects was, the investing the same person with different employments, which was considered at Carthage, as a proof of uncommon merit. But Aristotle thinks this practice vastly prejudicial to a community. For, says this author, a man possessed of but one employment, is much more capable of acquitting himself well in the execution of it; because affairs are then examined with greater care, and sooner dispatched. We never see, continues our author, either by sea or land, the same officer commanding two different bodies, or the same pilot steering two ships. Besides, the welfare of the state requires that places and preferments should be divided, in order to excite an emulation among men of merit: where-

as

(g) A. M. 3082. Ant. J. C. 682.

consistent with modesty. Erat prætor cum eo [Amilcare] adolescens illustris et formosus Hasdrubal, quem nonnulli diligi turpius, quam par erat

ab Amilcare, loquebantur — Quo factum est ut a præfecto morum Hasdrubal cum eo vetaretur esse. *Corn. Nep. in Vita Amilcaris.*

as the bestowing of them on one man, too often dazzles him by so distinguishing a preference, and always fills others with jealousy, discontent, and murmurs.

The second defect taken notice of by Aristotle in the government of Carthage, was, that in order for a man to attain the first posts, a certain estate was required (besides merit and a conspicuous birth). By which means poverty might exclude persons of the most exalted merit, which he considers as a great evil in a government. For then, says he, as virtue is wholly disregarded, and money is all powerful, because all things are attained by it, the admiration and desire of riches seise and corrupt the whole community. Add to this, that when magistrates and judges are obliged to pay large sums for their employments, they seem to have a right to re-imburse themselves.

There is not, I believe, one instance in all antiquity to show that employments, either in the state or the courts of justice, were sold. The expence, therefore, which Aristotle talks of here, to raise men to preferments in Carthage, must doubtless be understood of the presents that were given, in order to procure the votes of the electors; a practice, as Polybius observes, very common at Carthage, where no kind of gain was judged a disgrace*. It is therefore no wonder, that Aristotle should condemn a practice whose consequences, it is very plain, may prove fatal to a government.

But in case he pretended, that the chief employments of a state ought to be equally accessible to the rich and the poor, as he seems to insinuate; his opinion is refuted by the general practice of the wisest republicks; for these, without any way demeaning or aspersing poverty, have thought that on this occasion, the preference ought to be given to riches; because it is to be presumed, that the wealthy have received a better education, have nobler views, are more out of the reach of corruption, and less liable to commit base actions; and that even the state of their affairs makes them more affectionate to the government,

* Βαρεὶ καρχηδονίοις ὑδὲν ἀσχερὸν τῶν ἀμεινότητων πρὸς κέρδος. Polyb. l. vi. p. 597.

ment, inclines them to maintain peace and order in it, and to suppress whatever may tend to sedition and rebellion.

Aristotle, in concluding his reflections on the republick of Carthage, is much pleased with a custom practised in it, *viz.* of sending from time to time colonies into different countries; and in this manner, procuring its citizens commodious settlements. This provided for the necessities of the poor, who, equally with the rich, are members of the state; and it discharged Carthage of multitudes of lazy indolent people, who were its disgrace, and often proved dangerous to it. It prevented commotions and insurrections, by thus removing such persons as commonly occasion them; and who being ever uneasy under their present circumstances, are always ready for innovations and tumults.

SECT. IV. TRADE of CARTHAGE, *the first source of its wealth and power.*

COMMERCE, strictly speaking, was the occupation of Carthage, the particular object of its industry, and its peculiar and predominant characteristic. It formed the greatest strength, and the chief support of that commonwealth. In a word, we may affirm that the power, the conquests, the credit, and glory of the Carthaginians, all flowed from trade. Situated in the centre of the Mediterranean, and stretching out their arms eastward and westward, the extent of their commerce took in all the known world; and waisted it to the coast of Spain, of Mauritania, of Gaul, and beyond the straits and pillars of Hercules. They sailed to all countries, in order to buy, at a cheap rate, the superfluities of every nation; which, by the wants of others, became necessities, and these they sold to them at the dearest rates. From Egypt the Carthaginians fetched fine flax, paper, corn, sails, and cables for ships; from the coast of the Red-Sea, spices, frankincense, perfumes, gold, pearls, and precious stones; from Tyre and Phoenicia, purple and scarlet, rich stuffs; tapestry,

stery, costly furniture, and divers very curious and artificial works ; in fine, they fetched from various countries, all things that are absolutely necessary, or capable of contributing to ease, luxury, and the delights of life. They brought back from the western parts of the world, in return for the commodities carried thither, iron, tin, lead, and copper : by the sale of these various commodities, they enriched themselves at the expence of all nations ; and put them under a kind of contribution, which was so much the surer, as it was spontaneous.

In thus becoming the factors and agents of all nations, they had made themselves lords of the sea ; the hand which held the east, the west, and south together ; and the necessary canal of their communication ; so that Carthage rose to be the common city, and the centre of the trade of all those nations which the sea separated from one another.

The most considerable personages of the city were not ashamed to trade. They applied themselves to it as industriously as the meanest citizens ; and their great wealth did not make them less in love with the diligence, patience, and labour, which are necessary for the acquiring them. To this they owed their empire of the sea ; the splendour of their republick ; their being able to dispute for the superiority with Rome itself ; and their elevation of power, which forced the Romans to carry on a bloody and doubtful war, for upwards of forty years, in order to humble and subdue this haughty rival. In fine, Rome, even in its triumphant state, thought Carthage was not to be entirely reduced any other way, than by depriving that city of the benefit of its commerce, by which it had so long been enabled to resist the whole strength of that mighty republick.

However, it is no wonder that as Carthage came in a manner out of the greatest school of traffick in the world, I mean Tyre, she should have been crowned with such rapid and uninterrupted success. The very vessels on which its founders had been conveyed into Africa, were afterwards employed by them in their trade. They began

began to make settlements upon the coast of Spain, in those ports where they unloaded their goods. The ease with which they had founded these settlements, and the conveniences they met with, inspired them with the design of conquering those vast regions; and some time after, *Nova Carthago*, or New Carthage, gave the Carthaginians an empire in that country, almost equal to that they enjoyed in Africa.

SECT. V. *The MINES of SPAIN, second source of the riches and power of CARTHAGE.*

(b) **D**IODORUS justly remarks, that the gold and silver mines, found by the Carthaginians in Spain, were an inexhaustible fund of wealth, that enabled them to sustain such long wars against the Romans. The natives had long been ignorant of these treasures (at least of their use and value) which lay concealed in the bowels of the earth. The Phoenicians first made the discovery; and, by bartering some wares of little value for this precious metal, which the natives suffered them to dig up, they amassed infinite wealth. The Carthaginians improved, from their example, when they conquered that country; as did the Romans afterwards, when they had dispossessed the latter of it.

(i) The labour employed to come at these mines, and to dig the gold and silver out of them, was incredible, for the veins of these metals rarely appeared on the superficies: they were to be sought for, and traced through frightful depths, where very often floods of water stopped the miners, and seemed to defeat all future pursuits. But avarice is as patient in undergoing fatigues, as ingenious in finding expedients. By pumps, which Archimedes had invented when in Egypt, the Romans afterwards threw up the water out of these kind of pits, and quite drained them. Numberless multitudes of slaves perished in these mines, which were dug to enrich their masters, who treated them with the utmost barbarity, forced them by

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(b) Lib. iv. p. 312, &c.

(i) Ibid.

heavy stripes to labour, and gave them no respite either day or night. (k) Polybius, as quoted by Strabo, says, that in his time, upwards of forty thousand men were employed in the mines near *Nova Carthago*; and furnished the Romans every day with twenty-five thousand drachmas, or eighty hundred fifty nine pounds, seven shillings and six-pence*.

We must not be surprised to see the Carthaginians, soon after the greatest defeats, sending fresh and numerous armies again into the field; fitting out mighty fleets, and supporting, at a great expence, for many years, wars carried on by them in far-distant countries. But it must surprise us, to hear of the Romans doing the same; they whose revenues were very inconsiderable before those great conquests, which subjected to them the most powerful nations; and who had no resources, either from trade, to which they were absolute strangers; or from gold or silver mines, which were very rarely found in Italy, in case there were any; and consequently, the expences of which must have swallowed up all the profit. The Romans, in the frugal and simple life they led, in their zeal for the publick welfare, and their love for their country, possessed funds which were not less ready or secure than those of Carthage, but at the same time were far more honourable.

SECT. VI. WAR.

CARTHAGE must be considered as a trading, and at the same time a warlike republick. Its genius and the nature of its governments led it to traffick; and the necessity the Carthaginians were under, first of defending their subjects against the neighbouring nations, and afterwards a desire of extending their commerce and empire, led them to war. This double idea gives us, in my opinion, the true plan and character of the Carthaginian

(A) Lib. iii. p. 147.

* 25000 drachmas—An Attick —8d $\frac{1}{2}$. English money, consequently drachma, according to Dr. Bernard 25000—859 $\frac{1}{2}$ 7s. 6d.

nian republick. We have already spoken of its commerce.

The military power of the Carthaginians consisted in their alliances with kings; in tributary nations, from which they drew both men and money; in some troops raised from among their own citizens; and in mercenary soldiers purchased of neighbouring states, without their being obliged to levy or exercise them, because they were already well disciplined and inured to the fatigues of war; they making choice, in every country, of such soldiers as had the greatest merit and reputation. They drew from Numidia, a nimble bold, impetuous, and indefatigable cavalry, which formed the principal strength of their armies; from the Balearian isles, the most expert slingers in the world; from Spain, a stout and invincible infantry; from the coast of Genoa and Gaul, troops of known valour; and from Greece itself, soldiers fit for all the various operations of war, for the field or the garrison, for besieging or defending cities.

In this manner the Carthaginians sent out at once powerful armies, composed of soldiers which were the flower of all the armies in the universe, without depopulating either their fields or cities by new levies; without suspending their manufactures, or disturbing the peaceable artificer; without interrupting their commerce, or weakening their navy. By venal blood they possessed themselves of provinces and kingdoms! and made other nations the instruments of their grandeur and glory, with no other expence of their own, but their money; and even this furnished from the traffick they carried on with foreign nations.

If the Carthaginians, in the course of a war, sustained some losses, these were but as so many foreign accidents, which only grazed, as it were, over the body of the state, but did not make a deep wound in the bowels or heart of the republick. These losses were speedily repaired, by sums arising out of a flourishing commerce, as from a perpetual sinew of war, by which the government was furnished with new supplies for the purchase of mercenary

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forces, who were ready at the first summons. And, from the vast extent of the coasts which the Carthaginians possessed, it was easy for them to levy, in a very little time, a sufficient number of sailors and rowers for the working of their fleets and to procure able pilots and experienced captains to conduct them.

But as these parts were fortuitously brought together, they did not adhere by any natural, intimate, or necessary tie. No common and reciprocal interest united them in such a manner, so as to form a solid and unalterable body. Not one individual in these mercenary armies wished sincerely the prosperity of the state. They did not act with the same zeal, nor expose themselves to dangers with equal resolution, for a republick which they considered as foreign, and which consequently was indifferent to them, as they would have done for their native country, whose happiness constitutes that of the several members who compose it.

In great reverses of fortune, the kings (1) in alliance with the Carthaginians might easily be detached from their interest, either by a jealousy which the grandeur of a more powerful neighbour naturally gives; or from the hopes of reaping greater advantages from a new friend; or from the fear of being involved in the misfortunes of an old ally.

The tributary nations, being impatient under the weight and disgrace of a yoke which had been forced upon their necks, greatly flattered themselves with the hopes of finding one less galling in changing their masters; or, in case servitude was unavoidable, the choice was indifferent to them, as will appear from many instances in the course of this history.

The mercenary forces, accustomed to measure their fidelity by the largeness or continuance of their pay, were ever ready, on the least discontent, or the slightest expectation of a more considerable stipend, to desert to the enemy with whom they had just before fought, and to turn

(1) *As Syphax and Masinissa.*

their arms against those who had invited them to their assistance.

Thus the grandeur of the Carthaginians, being sustained only by these foreign supports, was shaken to the very foundation when they were once taken away. And if to this there happened to be added an interruption of their commerce (by which only they subsisted) arising from the loss of a naval engagement, they imagined themselves to be on the brink of ruin, and abandoned themselves to despondency and despair, as was evidently seen at the end of the first Punic war.

Aristotle, in the treatise where he shows the advantages and defects of the government of Carthage, finds no fault with its keeping up none but foreign forces; it is therefore probable, that the Carthaginians did not fall into this practice till a long time after. But the rebellions which harassed Carthage in its later years, ought to have taught its citizens, that no miseries are comparable to those of a government which is supported only by foreigners; since neither zeal, security, nor obedience can be expected from them.

But this was not the case with the republick of Rome. As the Romans had neither trade nor money, they were not able to hire forces, in order to push on their conquests with the same rapidity as the Carthaginians: But then, as they procured every thing from within themselves; and all the parts of the state were intimately united; they had surer resources in great misfortunes than the Carthaginians. And for this reason they never once thought of suing for peace after the battle of Cannæ, as the Carthaginians had done in a less imminent danger.

The Carthaginians had besides a body of troops (which was not very numerous) levied from among their own citizens; and this was a kind of school, in which the flower of their nobility, and those whose talents and ambition prompted them to aspire to the first dignities, learned the rudiments of the art of war. From among these were selected all the general officers, who were put at the head of the different bodies of their forces, and had the

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chief command in the armies. This nation was too jealous and suspicious to employ foreign generals. But they were not so distrustful of their own citizens as Rome and Athens; for the Carthaginians, at the same time that they invested them with great power, did not guard against the abuse they might make of it, in order to oppress their country. The command of armies was neither annual, nor limited to any time, as in the two republics above-mentioned. Many generals held their commissions for a great number of years, either till the war or their lives ended; though they were still accountable to the commonwealth for their conduct; and liable to be recalled, whenever a real oversight, a misfortune, or the superior interest of a cabal, furnished an opportunity for it.

SECT. VII. ARTS and SCIENCES.

IT cannot be said that the Carthaginians renounced entirely the glory which results from study and knowledge. The sending of Masinissa, son of a powerful king*, thither for education, gives us room to believe, that Carthage was provided with an excellent school. (m) The great Hannibal, who in all respects was an ornament to that city, was not unacquainted with polite literature, as will be seen hereafter. (n) Mago, another very celebrated general, did as much honour to Carthage by his pen, as by his victories. He wrote twenty-eight volumes upon husbandry, which the Roman senate had in such esteem, that after the taking of Carthage, when they presented the African princes with the libraries founded there (another proof that learning was not entirely banished from Carthage) they gave orders to have these books translated into Latin† though Cato had before written books on that subject. (o) There is still extant a Greek version of a treatise, drawn up by Hanno in the

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(m) Nepos in vita Annibalis.
l. xvii. c. 3.

(o) Voss. De hist. Gr. l. iv.

(n) Dic. l. i. De orat. n. 249. Plin.

* King of the Massylians in Africa.

† These books were written by Masinissa in the Punic language, and trans-

lated into Greek by Cassius Dionysius of Utica, from whose version we may probably suppose the Latin was made.

Punic tongue, relating to a voyage he made (by order of the senate) with a considerable fleet round Africa, for the settling of different colonies in that part of the world. This Hanno is believed to be more ancient, than that person of the same name, who lived in the time of Agathocles.

(p) Clitomachus, called, in the Punic language, Afrubal, was a great philosopher. He succeeded the famous Carneades, whose disciple he had been; and maintained in Athens the honour of the academick sect. * Cicero says, that he was a more sensible man, and fonder of study than the Carthaginians generally are. (q) He composed several books, in one of which he drew a piece to console the unhappy citizens of Carthage, who, by the ruin of their city, were reduced to slavery.

I might rank among, or rather place at the head of, the writers who have adorned Africa with their compositions, the celebrated Terence; himself being singly capable of reflecting infinite honour on his country by the fame of his productions, if on this account Carthage, the place of his birth, ought not to be less considered as his country than Rome, where he was educated, and acquired that purity of stile, that delicacy and elegance, which have gained him the admiration of all succeeding ages. (r) It is supposed, that he was carried off when an infant, or at least very young, by the Numidians in their incursions into the Carthaginian territories, during the war carried on between these two nations, from the conclusion of the second to the beginning of the third Punic war. He was sold a slave to Terentius Lucanus, a Roman senator, who, after giving him an excellent education, gave him his liberty, and called him by his own name, as was then the custom. He was united in a very strict friendship with the second Scipio Africanus and

Lælius;

(p) Plut. De fort. Alex. p. 328. Diog. Laert. in Clitom.

(q) Tusc. Quæst. l. iii. n. 54.

(r) Suet. in. vit. Terent.

* Clitomachus, homo & acutus diligens. *Academ. Quæst.* l. 1. v. ut *Pænus* & valde studiosus ac n. 98.

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Lælius; and it was a common report at Rome, that he had the assistance of these two great men in composing his pieces. The poet, so far from endeavouring to stifle a report so advantageous to him, made a merit of it. Only six of his comedies are extant. Some authors, according to Suetonius (the writer of his life) say, that in his return from Greece, whither he had made a voyage, he lost a hundred and eighty comedies translated from Menander, and could not sur vive an accident which must naturally afflict him in a sensible manner; but this incident is not very well founded. However this be, he died in the year of Rome 594, under the consulship of Cneius Cornelius Dolabella, and M. Fulvius, aged thirty-five years, and consequently was born *anno* 560.

It must yet be confessed, notwithstanding all we have said, that there ever was a great scarcity of learned men in Carthage, since it scarce furnished three or four writers of reputation in upwards of seven hundred years. Although the Carthaginians held a correspondence with Greece and the most civilized nations, yet this did not excite them to borrow their learning, as being foreign to their views of trade and commerce. Eloquence, poetry, history, seem to have been little known among them. A Carthaginian philosopher was considered as a sort of prodigy by the learned. What then would an astronomer or a geometrician have been thought; I know not in what reputation physick, which is so advantageous to life, was at Carthage; or the civil law, so necessary to society.

As works of wit were generally had in so much disregard, the education of youth must necessarily have been very imperfect and unpolished. In Carthage, the study and knowledge of youth were for the most part confined to writing, arithmetick, book-keeping, and the buying and selling goods; in a word, to whatever, related to traffick. But polite learning, history, and philosophy, were in little repute among them. These were, in later years, even prohibited by the laws, which expressly forbid any Carthaginian to learn the Greek tongue, lest it might

qualify them for carrying on a dangerous correspondence with the enemy, either by letter or word of mouth *.

Now what could be expected from such a cast of mind? Accordingly, there was never seen among them, that elegance of behaviour, that ease and complacency of manners, and those sentiments of virtue, which are generally the fruits of a liberal education in all civilized nations. The small number of great men, which this nation has produced, must therefore have owed their merit to the felicity of their genius, to the singularity of their talents, and a long experience, without any great assistance from instruction. Hence it was, that the merit of the greatest men of Carthage was sullied by great failings, low vices, and cruel passions; and it is rare to meet with any conspicuous virtue among them, without some blemish; with any virtue of a noble, generous, and amiable kind, and supported by clear and lasting principles, such as is every where found among the Greeks and Romans. The reader will perceive, that I here speak only of the heathen virtues, and agreeable to the idea which the Pagans entertained of them.

I meet with as few monuments of their skill in arts of a less noble and necessary kind, as painting and sculpture. I find, indeed, that they had plundered the conquered nations of a great many works in both these kinds; but it does not appear that they themselves had produced many.

From what has been said, one cannot help concluding, that traffick was the predominant inclination, and the peculiar characteristick of the Carthaginians; that it formed, in a manner, the basis of the state, the soul of the commonwealth, and the grand spring which gave
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* Factum senatus consultum ne quis postea Carthaginiensis aut literis Græcis aut sermoni studeat; ne aut loqui cum hoste, aut scribere sine interprete possit. *Justin. l. xx. c. 5.* *Justin ascribes the reason of this law, to a treasonable correspondence between one Summius, a powerful Carthaginian,*

and Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily; the former, by letters written in Greek (which afterwards fell into the hands of the Carthaginians) having informed the tyrant of the war designed against him by his country; out of hatred to Hanno the general, to whom he was an enemy.

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motion to all their enterprises. The Carthaginians, in general, were skilful merchants; employed wholly in traffick; excited strongly by the desire of gain, and esteeming nothing but riches; directing all their talents, and placing their chief glory in amassing them, though at the same time they scarce knew the use for which they were designed, or how to use them in a noble or worthy manner.

SECT. VIII. *The CHARACTER, MANNERS, and QUALITIES of the CARTHAGINIANS.*

IN the enumeration of the various qualities which Cicero * assigns to different nations, as their distinguishing characteristicks, he declares that of the Carthaginians to be craft, skill, address, industry, cunning, *calliditas*; which doubtless appeared in war, but was still more conspicuous in the rest of their conduct; and this was joined to another quality that bears a very near relation to it, and is still less reputable. Craft and cunning lead naturally to lying, hypocrisy, and breach of faith; and these, by accustoming the mind insensibly to be less scrupulous with regard to the choice of the means for compassing its designs, prepare it for the basest frauds and the most perfidious actions. This was also one of the characteristicks of the Carthaginians †; and it was so notorious, that to signify any *remarkable dishonesty*, it was usual to call it *Punic honour, fides Punica*; and to denote a *knaveish, deceitful mind*, no expression was thought more proper and emphatical than this, a *Carthaginian mind, Punicum ingenium*.

An excessive thirst for, and an immoderate love of profit, generally gave occasion in Carthage to the committing

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* *Quam volumus licet ipsi nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, sed pietate ac religione, &c. omnes gentes nationesque superavimus. De Arusp.*
Resp. n. 19.

† Carthaginienſis fraudulentæ & mendaces—multis & variis mercatorum advenarumque sermonibus ad studium fallendi quæſtus cupiditate vocabantur. *Cic. Orat. ii. in Rull. n. 94.*

mitting base and unjust actions. One single example will prove this. In the time of a truce, granted by Scipio, to the earnest entreaties of the Carthaginians, some Roman vessels, being driven by a storm on the coasts of Carthage, were seized by order of the senate and people*, who could not suffer so tempting a prey to escape them. They were resolved to get money, though the manner of acquiring it was ever so scandalous. † The inhabitants of Carthage, even in St. Austin's time, (as that father informs us) showed on a particular occasion, that they still retained part of this characteristick.

(s) But these were not the only blemishes and faults of the Carthaginians. They had something austere and savage in their disposition and genius, a haughty and imperious air, a sort of ferocity, which, in its first starts, was deaf to either reason or remonstrances, and plunged brutally into the utmost excesses of violence. The people, cowardly and groveling under apprehensions, were fiery and cruel in their transports; at the same time that they trembled under their magistrates, they were dreaded in their turn by their miserable vassals. In this we see the difference which education makes between one nation and another. The Athenians, whose city was always considered as the centre of learning, were naturally jealous of their authority, and difficult to govern; but still, a fund of good nature and humanity made them compassionate the misfortunes of others, and be indulgent to the errors of their leaders. Cleon one day desired the assembly, in which he presided, to break up; because

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(s) Plut. De ger. Rep. p. 799

* Magistratus senatum vocare, populus in curiæ vestibulo fremere, ne tanta ex oculis manibusque amitteretur præda. Consensum est ut, &c. Liv. l. xxx. n. 24

† A mountebank had promised the citizens of Carthage to discover to them their most secret thoughts, in case they would come, on a day appointed, to hear him. Being all met, he told them, they were desirous to

buy cheap, and sell dear. Every man's conscience pleaded guilty to the charge; and the mountebank was dismissed with applause and laughter. Vili vultis emere, & care vendere; in quo dicto levissimi scenici omnes tamen conscientias invenerunt suas, eique vera & tamen improvisa dicenti admirabili favore plauserunt. S. August. l. xiii. de Trinit. c. 3.

as he told them, he had a sacrifice to offer, and friends to entertain. The people only laughed at the request, and immediately separated. Such a liberty, says Plutarch, at Carthage, would have cost a man his life.

(t) Livy makes a like reflection with regard to Terentius Varro. That general, being returned to Rome after the battle of Cannæ, which had been lost by his ill conduct, was met by persons of all orders of the state, at some distance from Rome; and thanked by them, for his not having despaired of the commonwealth; who, says the historian, had he been a general of the Carthaginians, must have expected the most severe punishment. *Cui si, Carthaginiensium ductor fuisset, nihil recusandum supplicii foret.* Indeed a court was established at Carthage, where the generals were obliged to give an account of their conduct; and they all were made responsible for the events of war. Ill success was punished there as a crime against the state; and whenever a general lost a battle, he was almost sure, at his return, of ending his life upon a gibbet. Such was the furious, cruel, and barbarous disposition of the Carthaginians, who were always ready to shed the blood of their citizens as well as of foreigners. The unheard-of tortures which they made Regulus suffer are a manifest proof of this assertion; and their history will furnish us with such instances of it, as are not to be read without horror.

(t) Lib. xxii. n. 61.

PART THE SECOND.

The HISTORY of the CARTHAGINIANS.

THE interval of time between the foundation of Carthage and its ruin, included seven hundred years, and may be divided into two parts. The first, which is much the longest, and the least known, (as is ordinary with the beginnings of all states) extends to the first Punic war, and takes up five hundred and eighty-two years. The second, which ends at the destruction of Carthage, contains but an hundred and eighteen years.

CHAP. I.

The foundation of CARTHAGE, and its progress till the time of the first Punic war.

CARTHAGE in Africa was a colony from Tyre, the most renowned city at that time for commerce in the world. Tyre had long before transplanted another colony into that country, which built Utica *, made famous by the death of the second Cato, who for this reason is generally called Cato Uticensis.

Authors disagree very much with regard to the æra of the foundation of Carthage †. It is a difficult matter, and not very material, to reconcile them; at least, agreeably

* Utica et Carthago ambæ in-
elytæ, ambæ a Phœnicibus con-
ditæ; illa fato Catonis insignis,
hæc suo. Pompon. Mel. c. 67.
Utica and Carthage, both famous,
and both built by Phœnicians; the

first renowned by Cato's fate, the
last by its own.

† Our Countryman Howel endeavours to reconcile the three different accounts of the foundation of Carthage, in the following manner. He says,

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agreeably to the plan laid down by me, it is sufficient to know, within a few years, the time in which that city was built.

(u) Carthage existed a little above seven hundred years. It was destroyed under the consulate of Cn. Lentulus, and L. Mummius, the 603d year of Rome, 3859th of the world, and 145 before Christ. The foundation of it may therefore be fixed at the year of the world 3158, when Joash was king of Judah, 98 years before the building of Rome, and 846 before our Saviour.

(x) The foundation of Carthage is ascribed to Elissa a Tyrian princess, better known by the name of Dido. Ithobal, king of Tyre, and father of the famous Jezebel, called in scripture Ethbaal, was her great grandfather. She married her near relation Acerbas, called otherwise Sicharbas and Sichæus, an extremely rich prince, and Pygmalion king of Tyre was her brother. This prince having put Sichæus to death, in order that he might have an opportunity to seize his immense treasures; Dido eluded the cruel avarice of her brother, by withdrawing secretly with all her dead husband's possessions. After having long wandered, she at last landed on the coast of the Mediterranean, in the gulph where Utica stood, and in the country of Africa, properly so called, distant almost fifteen * miles from Tunis, so famous, at this time, for its corsairs; and there settled with her few followers, after having purchased some lands from the inhabitants of the country †.

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(u) Liv. Epit. l. li. (x) Justin. l. xviii. c. 4, 5, 6. App. de bello Pun. p. 1. Strab. l. xvii. p. 832. Patere. l. i. c. 6.

says, that the town consisted of three parts, viz. Cothon, or the port and buildings adjoining to it; which he supposes to have been first built; Megara, built next, and in respect of Cothon, called the New Town, or Karthada; and Byrsa, or the citadel, built last of all and probably by Dido.

Cothon, to agree with Appian, was built fifty years before the taking of Troy; Megara, to correspond with

Josephus, was built an hundred ninety-four years later; Byrsa, to agree with Meander, (cited by Josephus) was built an hundred sixty-six years after Megara. * 120 Stadia. Strab. l. xiv. p. 687. † Some authors say, that Dido put a trick on the natives, by desiring to purchase of them, for her intended settlement, only so much land as an ox's hide would encompass. The request was thought too moderate to be denied.

Many of the neighbouring people, invited by the prospect of lucre, repaired thither to sell to these foreigners the necessaries of life; and shortly after incorporated themselves with them. These inhabitants, who had been thus gathered from different places, soon grew very numerous. The citizens of Utica considering them as their countrymen, and as descended from the same common stock, deputed envoys with very considerable presents, and exhorted them to build a city in the place where they had first settled. The natives of the country, from the esteem and respect frequently shewn to strangers, made them the like offers. Thus all things conspiring with Dido's views, she built her city, which was appointed to pay an annual tribute to the Africans for the ground it stood upon; and called Carthada *, or Carthage, a name that, in the Phœnician and Hebrew tongues (which have a great affinity) signifies the New City. It is said that when the foundations were dug, a horse's head was found, which was thought a good omen, and a presage of the future warlike genius of that people †.

This princess was afterwards courted by Iarbas king of Getulia, and threatened with a war in case of refusal. Dido, who had bound herself by an oath not to consent to a second marriage, being incapable of violating the faith she had sworn to Sichæus, desired time for deliberation,

denied. She then cut the hide into the smallest thongs; and, with them, encompassed a large tract of ground, on which she built a citadel called byrsa, from the hide. But this tale of the thong is generally exploded by the learned; who observe, that the Hebrew word Bosra, which signifies a fortification, gave rise to the Greek word Byrsa, which is the name of the citadel of Carthage.

* Kartha Hadath or Haditha.

† Effodere loco signum, quod regia Juno
Moustrarat, caput acris equi; nam sic fore bello
Egregium, et facilem victu per secula gentem.

Ving. Æn. l. i. ver. 447.

*The Tyrians landing near this holy ground,
And digging here, a prosp'rous omen found:
From under earth a comf'rs head they drew,
Their growth and future fortune to foreshew:
This fated sign their foundress Juno gave,
Of a soil fruitful, and a people brave.*

DRYDEN.

tion, and for appealing the manes of her first husband by sacrifice. Having therefore ordered a pile to be raised, she ascended it; and drawing out a dagger she had concealed under her robe, stabbed herself with it*.

Virgil has made a great alteration in this history, by supposing that Æneas, his hero, was contemporary with Dido, though there was an interval of near three centuries between the one and the other; the æra of the building of Carthage being fixed three hundred years lower than the destruction of Troy. This liberty is very excusable in a poet, who is not tied to the scrupulous accuracy of an historian; we admire, with great reason, the judgment he has shewn in his plan, when to affect the Romans the more, (for whom he wrote) with his subject, he has the art of introducing into it the implacable hatred which subsisted between Carthage and Rome, and ingeniously deduces the original of it from the very remote foundation of those two rival cities.

Carthage, whose beginnings, as we have observed, were very weak, grew larger by insensible degrees, where it was founded. But its dominion was not long confined to Africa. The inhabitants of this ambitious city extended their conquests into Europe, by invading Sardinia, seizing a great part of Sicily, and reducing almost all Spain; and having sent powerful colonies every where, they

* *The story, as it is told more at large in Justin, (l. xviii. c. 6.) is this—Iarbas, king of the Mauritanians, sending for ten of the principal Carthaginians, demanded Dido in marriage, threatening to declare war against her in case of a refusal; the ambassadors being afraid to deliver the message of Iarbas, told her, (with Punic honesty) that he wanted to have some person sent him, who was capable of civilizing and polishing himself and his Africans; but that there was no possibility of finding any Carthaginian, who would be willing to quit his native place and kindred, for the conversation of Barbarians, who were as savage as the wildest beasts.*

Here the queen with indignation interrupting them, and asking, if they were not ashamed to refuse living in any manner, which might be beneficial to their country, to which they owed even their lives? They then delivered the king's message; and bid her set them a pattern, and sacrifice herself to her country's welfare. Dido being thus ensnared, called on Sichæus with tears and lamentations, and answered, that she would go where the fate of her city called her. At the expiration of three months, she ascended the fatal pile; and with her last breath told the spectators, that she was going to her husband as they had ordered her.

they enjoyed the empire of the seas for more than six hundred years; and formed a state which was able to dispute pre-eminence with the greatest empires of the world, by their wealth, their commerce, their numerous armies, their formidable fleets, and above all, by the courage and ability of their captains. The dates and circumstances of many of these conquests are little known. I shall take but a transient notice of them, in order to enable my readers to form some idea of the countries, which will be often mentioned in the course of this history.

Conquests of the CARTHAGINIANS in Africa.

(y) The first wars made by the Carthaginians, were to free themselves from the annual tribute which they had engaged to pay the Africans, for the land these had permitted them to settle in. This conduct does them no honour, as the settlement was granted them upon condition of their paying a tribute. One would be apt to imagine, that they were desirous of covering the obscurity of their original, by abolishing this proof of it. But they were not successful on this occasion. The Africans had justice on their side, and they prospered accordingly, the war being terminated by the payment of the tribute.

(z) The Carthaginians afterwards carried their arms against the Moors and Numidians, and won conquests from both. Being now emboldened by these happy successes, they shook off entirely the tribute which gave them so much uneasiness*, and possessed themselves of a great part of Africa.

(a) About this time there arose a great dispute between Carthage and Cyrene, on account of their respective limits. Cyrene was a very powerful city, situated on the Mediterranean, towards the greater Syrtis, and had been built by Battus the Lacedæmonian.

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(y) Justin. l. xix. c. 1.

(z) Justin. l. xix. c. 2.

(a) Sallust. de bello Jugurth. n. 77. Valer. Max. l. v. c. 6.

* Afri compulsi stipendium urbis conditæ Carthaginiensibus remittere Justin. l. xix. c. 2.

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It was agreed on each side, that two young men should set out at the same time, from either city; and that the place of their meeting should be the common boundary of both states. The Carthaginians (these were two brothers named Philæni) made the most haste; and their antagonists pretending that foul play had been used, and that these two brothers above-mentioned, had set out before the time appointed, refused to stand to the agreement, unless the two brothers (to remove all suspicion of their unfair dealing) would consent to be buried alive in the place where they had met. They acquiesced with the proposal, and the Carthaginians erected, on that spot, two altars to their memories, and paid them divine honours in their city; and from that time, the place was called the altars of the Philæni, *Aræ Philænorum**, and served as the boundary of the Carthaginian empire, which extended from thence to the pillars of Hercules.

Conquests of the CARTHAGINIANS in Sardinia, &c.

History does not inform us exactly, either of the time when the Carthaginians entered Sardinia, or of the manner they got possession of it. (b) This island was of great use to them; and, during all their wars, supplied them abundantly with provisions. It is separated from Corsica by a strait of about three leagues over. The metropolis of the southern and most fertile part of it, was Caratis or Calaris, now called Cagliari. On the arrival of the Carthaginians, the natives withdrew to the mountains in the northern parts of the island, which are almost inaccessible, and whence the enemy could not dislodge them.

The Carthaginians seized likewise on the Baleares, now called Majorca and Minorca. Port Magon, in the latter island, was so called from Mago, a Carthaginian general,

(b) Strab. l. v. p. 224. — Diod. l. v. p. 256.

* These pillars were not standing in Strabo's time. Some Geographers think Arcadia to be the city which was anciently called *Philænorum*

Aræ; but others believe it was Naina or Tain, situated a little west of Arcadia, in the gulph of Sidra.

general, who first made use of, and fortified it, (c) It is not known who this Mago was; but it is very probable that he was Hannibal's brother. This harbour is, at this day, one of the most considerable in the Mediterranean.

(d) These isles furnished the Carthaginians with the most expert slingers in the world, who did them great service in battles and sieges. They slung large stones of above a pound weight; and sometimes threw leaden bullets * with so much violence, that they would pierce even the strongest helmets, shields, and cuirasses; and were so dextrous in their aim, that they scarce ever missed the blow. The inhabitants of these islands were accustomed, from their infancy, to handle the sling; for which purpose their mothers placed, on the bough of a high tree, the piece of bread designed for their children's breakfast, who were not allowed a morsel, till they had brought it down with their slings. (e) From this practice these islands were called Baleares and Gymnasiæ by the Greeks; because the inhabitants used to exercise themselves so early in slinging of stones †.

Conquests

(c) Liv. l. xxviii. n. 37.
p. 742. Liv. loco citato.

(d) Diod. l. v. n. 298. and l. xix

(e) Strab. l. iii. p. 167.

* Liquefcit excussa glans fundâ, at attritu aeris, velut igne, distillat. i. e. The ball, when thrown from the sling, dissolves; and, by the friction of the air, runs as if it was melted by fire. Senec. Nat. Quæst. l. ii. c. 57.

† Bocbart derives the name of these islands from two Phœnician words, Baal-jare, or master in the art of slinging. This strengthens the authority of Strabo, viz. that the inhabitants learnt their art from the Phœnicians, who were once their masters. Σφενδονῖται ἀριστοὶ λένονται — εὐσεβίου κατέχον τὰ νύστερ. And this is still more probable, when we consider that both the Hebrews and Phœnicians excelled in this art. The Balearian slings would annoy an enemy either near at hand, or at a distance. Every slinger carried three of them in war. One hung from the neck, a second from the waist, and a

third was carried in the hand. To this give me leave to add two more observations (foreign indeed to the present purpose, but relating to these islands) which I hope will not be unentertaining to the reader. The first is, that these islands were once so infested with rabbits, that the inhabitants of it applied to Rome, either for aid against them, or otherwise desired new habitations, ἐκείνη λεισθαί γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ζώων τῶν τῶν, those creatures having ejected them out of their old ones. Vide Strab. Plin. l. viii. c. 55. The second observation is, that these islanders were not only expert slingers, but likewise excellent swimmers; which they are to this day, by the testimony of our countryman Biddulph, who, in his Travels, informs us, that being becalmed near these islands, a woman swam to him out of one of them, with a basket of fruit to sell.

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Conquests of the CARTHAGINIANS in Spain.

Before I enter on the relation of these conquests, I believe it will be proper to give my readers some idea of Spain.

(*f*) Spain is divided into three parts, Boetica, Lusitania, Tarraconia.

Boetica, so called from the river Boetis (*g*), was the southern division of it, and comprehended the present kingdom of Granada, Andalusia, part of New Castile, and Estremadura. Cadiz, called by the ancients Gades and Gadir, is a town situated in a small island of the same name, on the western coast of Andalusia, about nine leagues from Gibraltar. (*h*) It is well known that Hercules extending his conquests to this place, halted, from the supposition that he was come to the extremity of the world. He here erected two pillars, as monuments of his victories, pursuant to the custom of that age. The place has always retained the name, though time has quite destroyed these pillars. Authors are divided in opinion, with regard to the place where these pillars were erected. (*i*) Boetica was the most fruitful, the wealthiest, and most populous part of Spain. It contained two hundred cities, and was inhabited by the Turdetani, or Turduli. On the banks of the Boetis stood three large cities, Castulo towards the source, Corduba lower down, the native place of Lucan and the two Seneca's; lastly Hispalis (*k*). Lusitania is bounded on the west by the ocean, on the north by the river Durus (*l*), and on the south by the river Anas (*m*). Between these two rivers is the Tagus. Lusitania was what is now called Portugal, with part of Old and New Castile.

Tarraconia comprehended the rest of Spain, that is, the kingdoms of Murcia and Valentia, Catalonia, Arragon, Navarre, Biscay, the Asturias, Galicia, the kingdom of Leon, and the greatest part of the two Castiles. Tarraco (*n*), a very considerable city, gave its name

(*f*) Cluver. l. ii. c. 2.

(*g*) Guadalquivir.

(*h*) Strabo, l. iii.

p. 171.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 139—142.

(*k*) Seville.

(*l*) Duero.

(*m*) Guadiana.

(*n*) Tarragona.

name to that part of Spain. Pretty near it lay Barcino (*o*). Its name makes it conjectured, that it was built by Barcha, father of the great Hannibal. The most renowned nations of Tarraconia, were the Celtiberi, beyond the river Iberus (*p*); the Cantabri, where Biscay now lies; the Carpetani, whose capital was Toledo; the Ovitani, &c.

Spain, abounding with mines of gold and silver, and peopled with a martial race of men, had sufficient to excite both the avarice and ambition of the Carthaginians, who were more of a mercantile than of a warlike disposition, even from the genius and constitution of their republick. They doubtless knew that their Phœnician ancestors, (as (*q*) Diodorus relates) taking advantage of the happy ignorance of the Spaniards, with regard to the immense riches which were hid in the bowels of their lands, first took from them these precious treasures, in exchange for commodities of the lowest value. They likewise foresaw, that if they could once subdue this country, it would furnish them abundantly with well-disciplined troops for the conquest of other nations, as actually happened.

(*r*) The occasion of the Carthaginians first landing in Spain, was to assist the inhabitants of Cadiz, who were invaded by the Spaniards. That city, as well as Utica and Carthage, was a colony of Tyre, and even more ancient than either of them. The Tyrians having built it, established there the worship of Hercules; and erected in his honour a magnificent temple, which became famous in after ages. The success of this first expedition of the Carthaginians, made them desirous of carrying their arms into Spain.

It is not exactly known, in what period they entered Spain, nor how far they extended their first conquests. It is probable that these were slow in the beginning, as the Carthaginians had to do with very warlike nations, who defended themselves with great resolution and cou-

rage.

(*o*) Barcelona.

(*p*) Ebro.

(*q*) L. v. p. 312.

(*r*) Justin. l. xlv.

c. 5. Diod. l. v. p. 300.

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rage. Nor could they ever have accomplished their design, as (s) Strabo observes, had the Spaniards, (united in a body) formed but one state, and mutually assisted one another. But as every canton, every people were entirely detached from their neighbours, and had not the least correspondence with them, the Carthaginians were forced to subdue them one after another. This circumstance occasioned, on one hand, their ruin; and on the other, protracted the war, and made the conquests of the country much more difficult*; accordingly it has been observed, that though Spain was the first province which the Romans invaded on the continent, it was the last they subdued†; and was not entirely subjected to their power, till after having made a vigorous opposition for upwards of two hundred years.

It appears from the accounts given by Polybius and Livy, of the wars of Hamilcar, Asdrubal, and Hannibal in Spain, which will soon be mentioned; that the arms of the Carthaginians had not made any considerable progress in that country, till this period, and that the greatest part of Spain was then unconquered. But in twenty years time they completed the conquest of almost the whole country.

(t) At the time that Hannibal set out for Italy, all the coast of Africa, from the Philænoram Aræ, by the great Syrtis, to the pillars of Hercules, was subject to the Carthaginians. Passing through the straits, they had conquered all the western coast of Spain, along the ocean, as far as the Pyrenean hills. The coast which lies on the Mediterranean had been almost wholly subdued by them; and it was there they had built Carthage; and they were masters of all the country, as far as the river Iberus, which bounded their dominions. Such was, at that time, the extent of their empire. In the center of the country, some

(s) L. iii. p. 158.

(t) Polyb. l. iii. p. 192. l. i. p. 9.

* Such a division of Britain retarded, and at the same time facilitated the conquest of it to the Romans. Dum singuli pugnant universi vincuntur. Tacit.

† Hispania prima Romanis inita Provinciarum quæ quidem continentis sint, postrema omnium perdomita est. Liv. l. xxviii. n. 12.

some nations had indeed held out against all their efforts, and could not be subdued by them.

Conquests of the CARTHAGINIANS in Sicily.

The wars which the Carthaginians carried on in Sicily are more known. I shall here relate those which were waged from the reign of Xerxes, who first prompted the Carthaginians to carry their arms into Sicily, till the first Punic war. This takes up near two hundred and twenty years, *viz.* from the year of the world 3520 to 3738. At the breaking out of these wars, Syracuse, the most considerable as well as most powerful city of Sicily, had invested Gelon, Hiero, and Thrasylbus (three brothers who succeeded one another) with a sovereign power. After their deaths, a democracy or popular government was established in that city, and subsisted above sixty years. From this time, the two Dionysius's, Timoleon and Agathocles, bore the sway in Syracuse. Pyrrhus was afterwards invited into Sicily, but he kept possession of it only a few years. Such was the government of Sicily during the wars, of which I am going to treat. They will give us great light with regard to the power of the Carthaginians, at the time that they began to be engaged in a war with the Romans.

Sicily is the largest and most considerable island in the Mediterranean. It is of a triangular form, and for that reason was called Trinacria and Triquetra. The eastern side, which faces the Ionian or Grecian sea, extends from cape Pachinum (*u*) to Pelorum (*x*). The most celebrated cities on this coast are Syracuse, Tauromenium, and Messana. The northern coast, which looks towards Italy, reaches from cape Pelorum to cape Lilybæum (*y*). The most noted cities on this coast are Mylæ, Hymera, Panormus, Eryx, Motya, Lilybæum. The southern coast, which lies opposite to Africa, extends from cape Lilybæum to Pachynum. The most remarkable cities on this coast are Selinus, Agrigentum, Gela, and Camerina. This island is separated from

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(*u*) Passaro.

(*x*) Il Faro.

(*y*) Cape Boco.

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Italy by a strait, which is about a mile and a half over, and called the Faro or strait of Messina. (2) The passage from Lilybæum to Africa is but 1500 furlongs, that is, about seventy-five leagues.

(a) The period in which the Carthaginians first carried their arms into Sicily is not exactly known. All we are certain of is, that they were already possessed of some part of it, at the time that they entered into a treaty with the Romans; the same year that the kings were expelled, and consuls appointed in their room, viz. twenty-eight years before Xerxes invaded Greece. This treaty, which is the first we find mentioned to have been made between these two nations, speaks of Africa and Sardinia as possessed by the Carthaginians; whereas the conventions, with regard to Sicily, relate only to those parts of the island which were subject to them. By this treaty it is expressly stipulated, that neither the Romans nor their allies shall sail beyond the fair Promontory*, which was very near Carthage; and that such merchants, as shall resort to this city for traffick, shall pay only certain duties as are settled in it (b).

It appears by the same treaty, that the Carthaginians were particularly careful to exclude the Romans from all the countries subject to them; as well as from the knowledge of what was transacting in them: as though the Carthaginians, even at that time, took umbrage at the rising power of the Romans; and already harboured in their breasts the secret seeds of the jealousy and diffidence, that were one day to burst out in long and cruel wars, and which nothing could extinguish but the ruin of one of the contending powers; so fierce were their mutual hatred and animosity.

(c) Some years after the conclusion of this first treaty, the Carthaginians made an alliance with Xerxes king of Persia.

(2) Strabo, l. vi. p. 267. (a) A. M. 3501. A. Carth. 343. Rome, 245. Ant. J. C. 503. Polyb. l. iii. p. 245, & seq. Edit. Gronov. (b) Idem, p. 246. (c) A. M. 3520. Ant. J. C. 484. Diod. l. xi. p. 1, 16, & 22.

* The reason of this restraint, according to Polybius, was, the unwillingness of the Carthaginians to let the Romans have any knowledge of the countries which lay more to the south, in order that this enterprizing people might not bear of their fertility. Polyb. l. iii. p. 247. Edit. Gronov.

Persia. This prince, who aimed at nothing less than the total extirpation of the Greeks, whom he considered as his irreconcilable enemies, thought it would be impossible for him to succeed in his enterprize, without the assistance of Carthage, whose power made it formidable even at that time. The Carthaginians, who always kept in view the design they entertained of seizing upon the remainder of Sicily, greedily snatched the favourable opportunity which now presented itself for their completing the reduction of it. A treaty was therefore concluded; whereby the Carthaginians were to invade, with all their forces, those Greeks who were settled in Sicily and Italy, during which Xerxes should march in person against Greece itself.

The preparations for this war lasted three years. The land-army amounted to no less than three hundred thousand men. The fleet consisted of two thousand ships of war, and upwards of three thousand small vessels of burden. Hamilcar, the most experienced captain of his age, sailed from Carthage with this formidable army. He landed at Palermo*, and, after refreshing his troops, he marched against Hymera, a city not far distant from Palermo, and laid siege to it. Theron, who commanded in it, seeing himself very much straitened, sent to Gelon, who had possessed himself of Syracuse. He flew immediately to his relief, with fifty thousand foot, and five thousand horse. His arrival infused new courage into the besieged, who, from that time, made a very vigorous defence.

Gelon was an able warrior, and excelled in stratagems. A courier was brought to him, who had been dispatched from Selinuntum with a letter for Hamilcar, to inform him of the day when he might expect the cavalry, which he had demanded of them. Gelon drew out an equal number of his own, and sent them from his camp about the time agreed on. These being admitted into the enemies camp, as coming from Selinuntum, rushed upon Hamilcar, killed him, and set fire to his ships. In this critical conjuncture, Gelon attacked,

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* This city is called in Latin Panormus.

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with all his forces, the Carthaginians, who at first made a gallant resistance. But when the news of their general's death was brought them, and they saw their fleet in a blaze, their courage failed them, and they fled. And now a dreadful slaughter ensued; upwards of an hundred and fifty thousand being slain. The rest of the army, having retired to a place where they were in want of every thing, could not make a long defence, and so were forced to surrender at discretion. This battle was fought the very day of the famous action of Thermopylæ, in which three hundred Spartans*, with the sacrifice of their lives, disputed Xerxes's entrance into Greece.

When the sad news was brought to Carthage, of the entire defeat of the army; consternation, grief, and despair, threw the whole city into such a confusion and alarm as are not to be expressed. It was imagined that the enemy was already at the gates. The Carthaginians, in great reverses of fortune, always lost their courage, and sunk into the opposite extreme. Immediately they sent a deputation to Gelon, by which they desired peace upon any terms. He heard their envoys with great humanity. The compleat victory he had gained, so far from making him haughty and untractable, had only increased his modesty and clemency even towards the enemy. He therefore granted them a peace, upon no other condition, than their paying two thousand † talents towards the expence of the war. He likewise required of them to build two temples, where the treaty of this peace should be deposited, and exposed at all times to public view. The Carthaginians did not think this a dear purchase of a peace, that was so absolutely necessary to their affairs, and which they hardly durst hope for. Gisgo, the son of Hamilcar, pursuant to the unjust custom of the Carthaginians, of ascribing to the general the ill success of a war, and making him suffer for it, was punished for his father's

* Besides the 300 Spartans, the Thessians, a people of Bæotia, to the number of 700, fought and died with Leonidas, in this memorable battle. Herod. l. vii. c. 202—222.

† An Attick silver talent, according to Dr. Bernard, is 206 l. 5 s. consequently 2000 talents is 412,500 l.

father's misfortune, and sent into banishment. He passed the remainder of his days at Selinuntum, a city of Sicily.

Gelon, on his return to Syracuse, convened the people, and invited all the citizens to appear under arms. He himself entered the assembly, unarmed and without his guards, and there gave an account of the whole conduct of his life. His speech met with no other interruption, but the publick testimonies which were given him of gratitude and admiration. So far from being treated as a tyrant and the oppressor of his country's liberty, he was considered as its benefactor and deliverer; all, with an unanimous voice, proclaimed him king; and the crown was bestowed, after his death, on his two brothers.

(d) After the memorable defeat of the Athenians before Syracuse, where Nicias perished with his whole fleet; the Segestans, who had declared in favour of the Athenians against the Syracusans, fearing the resentment of their enemies, and being attacked by the inhabitants of Selinuntum, implored the aid of the Carthaginians, and put themselves and city under their protection. The last mentioned people debated some time, what course it would be proper for them to take, the affair meeting with great difficulties. On one hand, the Carthaginians were very desirous to possess themselves of a city which lay so convenient for them; on the other, they dreaded the power and forces of Syracuse, which had so lately cut to pieces a numerous army of the Athenians; and become, by so shining a victory, more formidable than ever. At last, the lust of empire prevailed, and the Segestans were promised succours.

The conduct of this war was committed to Hannibal, who had been invested with the highest dignity of the state being one of the Suffetes. He was grandson to Hamilcar, who had been defeated by Gelon, and killed before Himera; and son to Gisgo, who had been condemned to exile. He left Carthage, fired with a desire

(d) A. M. 3592. A. Carth. 434. Rome, 336. Ant. J. C. 412. Diod. l. xiii. p. 169—171. 179—186.

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of revenging his family and country, and of wiping away the disgrace of the last defeat. He had a very great army as well as fleet under his command. He landed at a place called the *Well of Lilybæum*, which gave its name to a city, afterwards built on the same spot. His first enterprise was the siege of Selinuntum. The attack and defence were equally vigorous, the very women showing a resolution and bravery above their sex. The city, after making a long resistance, was taken by storm, and the plunder of it abandoned to the soldiers. The victor exercised the most horrid cruelties, without showing the least regard either to age or sex. He permitted such inhabitants as had fled, to continue in the city after it had been dismantled; and to till the lands, on condition of their paying a tribute to the Carthaginians. This city had been built two hundred and forty two years.

Hymera, which was next besieged by Hannibal, and likewise taken by storm, and more cruelly treated than Selinuntum, was entirely razed, two hundred and forty years from its foundation. He forced three thousand prisoners to undergo all kinds of ignominy and punishments, and at last murdered them on the very spot where his grandfather had been killed by Gelon's cavalry; to appease and satisfy his manes, by the blood of these unhappy victims.

These expeditions being ended, Hannibal returned to Carthage, on which occasion the whole city came out to meet him, and received him amidst the most joyful acclamations.

(f) These successes re-inflamed the desire, and revived the design which the Carthaginians had ever entertained, of getting possession of all Sicily. Three years after, they appointed Hannibal their general a second time; and on his pleading his great age, and refusing the command of this war, they gave him for lieutenant, Imilcon, son of Hanno, of the same family. The preparations for this war were equal to the great design which the Carthagi-

(f) Diød. l. xiii. p. 201—203. 206—211. 226—231.

nians had formed. The fleet and army were soon ready, and set out for Sicily. The number of their forces, according to Timæus, amounted to above six-score thousand; and, according to Ephorus, to three hundred thousand men. The enemy on their side had put themselves in a posture of defence, and were prepared to give the Carthaginians a warm reception. The Syracusans had sent to all their allies, in order to levy forces among them; and to all the cities of Sicily, to exhort them to exert themselves vigorously in defence of their liberties.

Agrigentum expected to feel the first fury of the enemy. This city was prodigiously rich*, and strongly fortified. It was situated, as were Hymera and Selinuntum, on that coast of Sicily, which faces Africa. Accordingly, Hannibal opened the campaign with the siege of this city. Imagining that it was impregnable except on one side, he turned his whole force that way. He threw up banks and terrasses as high as the walls; and made use, on this occasion, of the rubbish and fragments of the tombs standing round the city, which he had demolished for that purpose. Soon after, the plague infected the army, and swept away a great number of the soldiers, and the general himself. The Carthaginians interpreted this disaster as a punishment inflicted by the gods, who revenged in this manner the injuries done to the dead, whose ghosts many fancied they had seen stalking before them in the night.

* The very sepulchral monuments showed the magnificence and luxury of this city, they being adorned with statues of birds and horses. But the wealth and boundless generosity of Gelliar, one of its inhabitants, is almost incredible. He entertained the people with spectacles and feasts, and, during a famine, prevented the citizens from dying with hunger: He gave portions to poor maidens, and rescued the unfortunate from want and despair; he had built houses in the city and the country, purposely for the accommodation of strangers, whom he usually dismissed with hand-

some presents. Five hundred shipwrecked citizens of Gela, applying to him, were bountifully received, and every man supplied with a cloak and a coat out of his wardrobe. Diod. l. xiii. Valer. Max. l. iv. c. ult. Empedocles the philosopher, born in Agrigentum, has a memorable saying concerning his fellow citizens; That the Agrigentines squandered their money so excessively every day; as if they expected it could never be exhausted; and built with such solidity and magnificence, as if they thought they should live for ever.

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night. No more tombs were therefore demolished, prayers were ordered to be made according to the practice of Carthage; a child was sacrificed to Saturn, in compliance with a most inhumanly-superstitious custom; and many victims were thrown into the sea in honour of Neptune.

The besieged who, at first had gained several advantages, were at last so pressed by famine, that all hopes of relief seeming desperate, they resolved to abandon the city. The following night was fixed on for this purpose. The reader will naturally image to himself the grief with which the miserable people must be seized, on their being forced to leave their houses, rich possessions, and their country; but life was still dearer to them than all these. Never was a more melancholy spectacle seen. To omit the rest, a crowd of women, bathed in tears, were seen dragging after them their helpless infants, in order to secure them from the brutal fury of the victor. But the most grievous circumstance was the necessity they were under of leaving behind them the aged and sick, who were unable either to fly or to make the least resistance. The unhappy exiles arrived at Gela, which was the nearest city in their way, and there received all the comforts they could expect in the deplorable condition to which they were reduced.

In the mean time Imilcon entered the city, and murdered all who were found in it. The plunder was immensely rich, and such as might be expected from one of the most opulent cities of Sicily, which contained two hundred thousand inhabitants, and had never been besieged, nor consequently plundered before. A numberless multitude of pictures, vases, and statues of all kinds were found here, the citizens having an exquisite taste for the polite arts. Among other curiosities was a famous bull* of Phalaris, which was sent to Carthage.

The siege of Agrigentum had lasted eight months. Imilcon made his forces take up their winter-quarters in

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* This bull, with other spoils when he took Carthage in the third Punic war, Cic. l. iv. in Verrem, ed to the Agrigentines by Scipio, c. 33.

it, to give them the necessary refreshment; and left this city (after laying it entirely in ruins) in the beginning of the spring. He afterwards besieged Gela, and took it, notwithstanding the succours which were brought by Dionysius the tyrant, who had seized upon the government of Syracuse. Imilcon ended the war by a treaty with Dionysius. The articles of it were, that the Carthaginians, besides their ancient acquisitions in Sicily, should still possess the country of the Sicanians*, Selinuntum, Agrigentum, and Hymera; as likewise that of Gelo and Camarina, with leave for the inhabitants to reside in their respective dismantled cities, on condition of their paying a tribute to Carthage: that the Leontines, the Messenians, and all the Sicilians should retain their own laws, and preserve their liberty and independence: lastly, that the Syracusans should still continue subject to Dionysius. After this treaty was concluded, Imilcon returned to Carthage, where the plague still made dreadful havock.

(g) Dionysius had concluded the late peace with the Carthaginians, in no other view but to get time to establish his new authority, and make the necessary preparations for the war, which he meditated against them. As he was very sensible how formidable those people were, he used his utmost endeavours to enable himself to invade them with success; and his design was wonderfully well seconded by the zeal of his subjects. The fame of this prince, the strong desire he had to distinguish himself, the charms of gain, and the prospect of the rewards which he promised those who should show the greatest industry; invited, from all quarters, into Sicily, the most able artists and workmen at that time in the world. All Syracuse now became in a manner a common work-shop, in every part of which men were seen making swords, helmets, shields, and military engines; and in preparing all things necessary for building ships and fitting out fleets. The invention of five benches of oars (or *Quinqueremes*) was at

(g) A. M. 3600. A. Carth. 442. Rome. 344. Ant. J. C. 404.
Dion. l. xiv. p. 268—278.

* *The Sicanians and Sicilians were anciently two distinct people.*

at that time very recent, for, till then, only three (*b*) had been used. Dionysius animated the workmen by his presence, and by the applauses he gave, and the bounty which he bestowed seasonably; but chiefly by his popular and engaging behaviour, which excited more strongly than any other conduct, the industry and ardour of the workmen, (*i*) the most excellent of whom, in every art, had frequently the honour to dine with him.

When all things were ready, and a great number of forces had been levied in different countries, he called the Syracusans together, laid his design before them, and represented the Carthaginians as the professed enemies to the Greeks; that they had no less in view than the invasion of all Sicily; the subjecting all the Grecian cities; and that, in case their progress was not checked, the Syracusans themselves would soon be attacked; that the reason why the Carthaginians did not attempt any enterprize, and continue inactive, was owing entirely to the dreadful havock made by the plague among them; which (he observed) was a favourable opportunity for the Syracusans. Though the tyranny and the tyrant were equally odious to Syracuse, yet the hatred the people in question bore to the Carthaginians, prevailed over all other considerations; and every one guided more by the views of an interested policy, than by the dictates of justice, received the speech with applause. Upon this, without the least complaint made of treaties violated, or making a declaration of war, Dionysius gave up to the fury of the populace, the persons and possessions of the Carthaginians. Great numbers of them resided at that time in Syracuse, and traded there on the faith of treaties. But now the common people ran to their houses, plundered their effects, and pretended they were sufficiently authorized to exercise every ignominy, and inflict every kind of punishment on them; for the cruelties they had exercised against the natives of the country. And this horrid example of perfidy and inhumanity was followed throughout the whole island of Sicily. This was the bloody signal of the war which

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was

(*b*) *Triremes.*(*i*) *Honos alit artes.*

was declared against them. Dionysius having thus begun to do himself justice (in his way) sent deputies to Carthage, to require them to restore all the Sicilian cities to their liberties; and that otherwise all the Carthaginians found in them should be treated as enemies. This news spread a general alarm in Carthage, especially when they reflected on the sad condition to which they were reduced.

Dionysius opened the campaign with the siege of Motya, which was the magazine of the Carthaginians in Sicily; and he besieged the town with so much vigour, that it was impossible for Imilcon, the Carthaginian admiral, to relieve it. He brought forward his engines, battered the place with his battering-rams, advanced towers six stories high to the wall (rolled upon wheels) and of an equal height with their houses; from these towers, he greatly annoyed the besieged, with furious discharges of volleys of arrows and stones sent from his Catapultas, an engine* at that time of late invention. At last, the city after having made a long and vigorous defence, was taken by storm, and all the inhabitants of it put to the sword, those excepted, who took sanctuary in the temples. The plunder of it was abandoned to the soldiers; and Dionysius, leaving a strong garrison and a trusty governor in it, returned to Syracuse.

(k) The following year Imilcon being appointed one of the Suffetes, returned to Sicily with a far greater army than before. He landed at Palermo†, took several cities and recovered Motya by force of arms. Animated by these successes, he advanced towards Syracuse, with design to besiege it; marching his infantry by land; whilst his fleet, under the command of Mago, sailed along the coast.

The arrival of Imilcon threw the Syracusans into great consternation. Above two hundred ships laden with the spoils of the enemy, and advancing in good order, entered in

(k) Diod. l. xiv. p. 279.—295. Justin. l. xix. c. 2, 3.

* The curious reader will find a second part of the eighth Volume of very particular account of it in the this work.

† Panormus.

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in a kind of triumph the great harbour, being followed by five hundred barks. At the same time the land-army, consisting, according to some authors, of three hundred thousand foot *, and three thousand horse, was seen marching forward on the other side of the city. Imilcon pitched his tent in the very temple of Jupiter; and the rest of the army encamped at twelve furlongs, or about a mile and a half from the city. Marching up to it, Imilcon offered battle to the inhabitants, who did not care to accept the challenge. Imilcon, satisfied at his having extorted, as it were, from the Syracusans, this confession of their own weakness and his superiority, returned to his camp; not doubting but he should soon be master of the city; considering it already as a certain prey, which could not possibly escape him. For thirty days together, he laid waste the neighbourhood about Syracuse, and ruined the whole country. He possessed himself of the suburb of Acradina, and plundered the temples of Ceres and Proserpine. To fortify his camp, he beat down the tombs which stood round the city; and among others, that of Gelon and his wife Demarata, which was prodigiously magnificent.

But these successes were not lasting. All the splendor of this anticipated triumph vanished in a moment, and taught mankind, says the historian (1), that the proudest mortal, blasted sooner or later by a superior power, shall be forced to confess his own weakness. Whilst Imilcon, now master of almost all the cities of Sicily, expected to finish his conquests, by the reduction of Syracuse, a contagious distemper seized his army, and made dreadful havock in it. It was now the midst of summer, and the heat that year was excessive. The infection began among the Africans, multitudes of whom died, without any possibility of their being relieved. Care was taken at first to inter the dead; but the number increasing daily, and the infection spreading very fast, the dead lay unburied,

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(1) Diodorus.

* Some authors say but thirty blocked up the town by sea was so thousand foot, which is the more formidable.
probable account, as the fleet which

and the sick could have no assistance. This plague had very uncommon symptoms, such as violent dysenteries, raging fevers, burning entrails, acute pains in every part of the body. The infected were even seized with madness and fury, so that they would fall upon any persons that came in their way, and tear them to pieces.

Dionysius did not lose this favourable opportunity for attacking the enemy. Imilcon's army, being more than half conquered by the plague, could make but a feeble resistance. The Carthaginian ships were almost all either taken or burnt. The inhabitants in general of Syracuse, their old men, women, and children, came pouring out of the city, to behold an event, which to them appeared miraculous. With hands lifted up to heaven, they thanked the tutelar gods of their city, for having revenged the sanctity of temples and tombs, which had been so brutally violated by these Barbarians. Night coming on, both parties retired; when Imilcon, taking the opportunity of this short suspension of hostilities, sent to Dionysius, for leave to carry back with him the small remains of his shattered army, with an offer of three hundred talents*, which was all the specie he had then left. Permission could only be obtained for the Carthaginians, with whom Imilcon stole away in the night, and left the rest to the mercy of the conqueror.

In such unhappy circumstances did the Carthaginian general, who a few days before had been so proud and haughty, retire from Syracuse. Bitterly bewailing his own fate, but most of all that of his country, he, with the most insolent fury, accused the gods as the sole authors of his misfortunes. "The enemy, continued he, " may indeed rejoice at our misery, but have no reason " to glory in it. We return victorious over the Syracu- " fans; and are only defeated by the plague. No part, " added he, of the disaster touches me so much as my " surviving so many gallant men, and my being reserved, " not for the comforts of life, but to be the sport of so " dire a calamity: however, since I have brought back " the

* About 61,800*l.* English money.

“ the miserable remains of an army, which have been
“ committed to my care ; I now have nothing to do, but
“ to follow the brave soldiers who lie dead before Syracuse,
“ and show my country, that I did not survive them out
“ of a fondness of life ; but merely to preserve the troops
“ which had escaped the plague, from the fury of the
“ enemy, to which my more early death would have
“ abandoned them.”

Being now arrived in Carthage, which he found overwhelmed with grief and despair, he entered his house, shut his doors against the citizens, and even his own children ; and then gave himself the fatal stroke, in compliance with a practice to which the heathens falsely gave the name of courage, though it was, in reality, no other than a cowardly despair.

But the calamities of this unhappy city did not stop here ; for the Africans, who from time immemorial had bore an implacable hatred to the Carthaginians, being now exasperated to fury, because their countrymen had been left behind, and exposed to the murdering sword of the Syracusans, assemble in the most frantick manner, sound the alarm, take up arms, and after seizing upon Tunis, marched directly to Carthage, to the number of more than two hundred thousand men. The citizens now gave themselves up for lost. This new incident was considered by them as the sad effect of the wrath of the gods, which pursued the guilty wretches even to Carthage. As its inhabitants, especially in all publick calamities, carried their superstition to the greatest excess, their first care was to appease the offended gods. Ceres and Proserpine were deities, who, till that time, had never been heard of in Africa. But now, to atone for the outrage which had been done them, in the plundering of their temples, magnificent statues were erected to their honour ; priests were selected from among the most distinguished families of the city ; sacrifices and victims, according to the Greek ritual (if I may use the expression) were offered up to them ; in a word, nothing was omitted which could be thought conducive in any manner, to appease

the angry goddesses, and to merit their favour. After this, the defence of the city was the next object of their care. Happily for the Carthaginians, this numerous army had no leader, but was like a body uninformed with a soul; no provisions or military engines; no discipline, or subordination were seen among them: every man setting himself up for a general, or claiming an independence from the rest. Divisions therefore arising in this rabble of an army, and the famine increasing daily, the individuals of it withdrew to their respective homes, and delivered Carthage from a dreadful alarm.

The Carthaginians were not discouraged by their late disaster, but continued their enterprizes on Sicily. Mago their general, and one of the Suffetes, lost a great battle and his life. And now the Carthaginian chiefs demanded a peace, which accordingly was granted, on condition of their evacuating all Sicily, and defraying the expences of the war. They pretended to accept the peace on the terms it was offered; but representing, that it was not in their power to deliver up the cities, without first obtaining an order from their republick; they obtained so long a truce, as gave them time sufficient for sending to Carthage. During this interval, they raised and disciplined new troops, over which Mago, son of him who had been lately killed, was appointed general. He was very young, but of great abilities and reputation. Mago arrived in Sicily, and at the expiration of the truce, he gave Dionysius battle; in which Leptinus*, one of the generals of the latter, was killed, and upwards of fourteen thousand Syracusans left dead on the field. By this victory the Carthaginians obtained an honourable peace, which left them in the possession of all they had in Sicily, with even the addition of some strong holds; besides a thousand talents†, which were for defraying the expences of the war.

(c) About this time a law was enacted at Carthage, by which its inhabitants were forbid to learn to write or speak the

(c) Justin. l. xx. c. 5.

* This Leptinus was brother to Dionysius.

† About 206,000*l*.

the Greek language; in order to deprive them of the means of corresponding with the enemy, either by word of mouth, or in writing. This was occasioned by the treachery of a Carthaginian, who had writ in Greek to Dionysius, to give him advice of the departure of the army from Carthage.

(p) Carthage had, soon after, another calamity to struggle with. The plague got into the city, and made terrible havock. Panic terrors, and violent fits of frēnzy, seized on a sudden the heads of the distempered; who sallying, sword in hand, out of their houses, as if the enemy had taken the city, killed or wounded all who unhappily came in their way. The Africans and Sardinians would very willingly have taken this opportunity to shake off a yoke which was so hateful to them; but both were subjected, and reduced to their allegiance. Dionysius formed at this time an enterprize, in Sicily, in the same views, which was equally unsuccessful. He died * some time after, and was succeeded by his son of the same name.

We have already taken notice of the first treaty which the Carthaginians concluded with the Romans. There was another, which, according to Orosius, was concluded in the 402d year of the foundation of Rome, and consequently about the time we are now speaking of. This second treaty was very near the same with the first, except that the inhabitants of Tyre and Utica were expressly comprehended in it, and joined with the Carthaginians.

P 6

After

(p) Diod. l. xv. p. 344.

* *This is the Dionysius who invited Plato to his court; and who, being afterwards offended with his freedom, sold him for a slave. Some philosophers came from Greece to Syracuse in order to redeem their brother, which having done, they sent him home with this useful lesson; That philosophers ought very rarely, or very obligingly, to converse with tyrants. This prince had learning and affected to pass for a poet; but could not gain that name at the Olympic games, whither he had sent his verses, to be repeated by his brother Thearides. It had been happy for Dionysius, had the Athenians entertained no better an opinion of his poetry; for on their pronouncing him victor, when his poems were repeated in their city, he was raised to such a transport of joy and intemperance, that both together killed him; and thus, perhaps, was verified the prediction of the oracle, viz. that he should die when he had overcome his betters.*

(9) After the death of the elder Dionysius, Syracuse was involved in great troubles. Dionysius the younger, who had been expelled, restored himself by force of arms, and exercised great cruelties there. One part of the citizens implored the aid of Icetes, tyrant of the Leontines, and by descent a Syracusan. This seemed a very favourable opportunity for the Carthaginians to seize upon all Sicily, and accordingly they sent a mighty fleet thither. In this extremity, such of the Syracusans as loved their country best, had recourse to the Corinthians, who had often assisted them in their dangers; and were, of all the Grecian nations, the most professed enemies to tyranny, and the most avowed and most generous assertors of liberty. Accordingly the Corinthians sent over Timoleon, a man of great merit, and who signalized his zeal for the publick welfare, by freeing his country from tyranny, at the expence of his own family. He set sail with only ten ships, and arriving at Rhegium, he eluded, by a happy stratagem, the vigilance of the Carthaginians; who having been informed, by Icetes, of his voyage and design, wanted to intercept his passage to Sicily.

Timoleon had scarce above a thousand soldiers under his command; and yet, with this handful of men, he advanced boldly to the relief of Syracuse. His small army increased perpetually as he marched. The Syracusans were now in a desperate condition, and quite hopeless. They saw the Carthaginians masters of the port; Icetes of the city; and Dionysius of the citadel. Happily, on Timoleon's arrival, Dionysius having no refuge left, put the citadel into his hands, with all the forces, arms, and ammunition in it; and escaped, by his assistance, to Corinth*. Timoleon had, by his emissaries, represented

artfully

(9) A. M. 3656. A. Carth. 408. A. Rom. 400. Ant. J. C. 348. Diod. l. xvi. p. 252. Polyb. l. iii. p. 178. Plut. in Timol.

* Here he preserved some resemblance of his former tyranny, by turning schoolmaster; and exercising a discipline over boys, when he could no longer tyrannize over men. He had learning, and was once a scholar of Plato, whom he caused to come again into Sicily, notwithstanding the unworthy treatment he had met with from Dionysius's father. Philip

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artfully to the foreign forces in Mago's army, which (by an error in the constitution of Carthage before taken notice of) was chiefly composed of such, and even the greatest part of these were Greeks; that it was astonishing, to see Greeks using their endeavour to make Barbarians masters of Sicily, from whence they, in a very little time, would pass over into Greece. For could they imagine, that the Carthaginians were come so far, in no other view but to establish Icetes tyrant of Syracuse? Such discourses being spread among Mago's soldiers, gave this general very great uneasiness; and, as he wanted only a pretence to retire, he was glad to have it believed, that his forces were going to betray and desert him; and upon this he sailed with his fleet out of the harbour, and steered for Carthage. Icetes, after his departure, could not hold out long against the Corinthians; so that they now got entire possession of the whole city.

Mago, on his arrival at Carthage, was impeached; but he prevented the execution of the sentence passed upon him, by a voluntary death. His body was hung upon a gallows, and exposed as a publick spectacle to the people. (r) New forces were levied at Carthage, and a greater and more powerful fleet than the former was sent to Sicily. It consisted of two hundred ships of war, besides a thousand transports; and the army amounted to upwards of seventy thousand men. They landed at Lilybæum, under the command of Hamilcar and Hannibal, and resolved to attack the Corinthians first. Timoleon did not wait for, but marched out to meet them. And now, such was the consternation of Syracuse, that, of all the forces which were in that city, only three thousand Syracusans, and four thousand mercenaries followed him; and a thousand of the latter deserted upon the march, out of

(r) Plut. p. 248—250.

lip king of Macedon meeting him in the streets at Corinth, and asking him how he came to lose so considerable a principality, as had been left him by his father; he answered, That his father had indeed left him the inheri-

tance, but not the fortune which had preserved both himself and that.— However, fortune did him no great injury, in replacing him on the dung-hill, from which she had raised his father.

of fear of the danger they were going to encounter. Timoleon, however, was not discouraged, but exhorting the remainder of his forces to exert themselves courageously for the safety and liberties of their allies, he led them against the enemy, whose rendezvous he had been informed was on the banks of the little river Crimisa. It appeared at the first reflection an inexcusable folly to attack an army so numerous as that of the enemy, with only four or five thousand foot, and a thousand horse: but Timoleon, who knew that bravery, conducted by prudence, is superior to number, relied on the courage of his foldiers, who seemed resolved to die rather than yield, and with ardour demanded to be led against the enemy. The event justified his views and hopes. A battle was fought; the Carthaginians were routed, and upwards of ten thousand of them slain, full three thousand of whom were Carthaginian citizens, which filled their city with mourning and the greatest consternation. Their camp was taken, and with it immense riches, and a great number of prisoners.

(s) Timoleon, at the same time that he dispatched the news of this victory to Corinth, sent thither the finest arms found among the plunder. For he was passionately desirous of having this city applauded and admired by all men, when they should see that Corinth only, among all the Grecian cities, adorned its finest temples, not with the spoils of Greece, and offerings dyed in the blood of its citizens, and thereby fit only to preserve the sad remembrance of their losses, but with those of Barbarians, which, by fine inscriptions, displayed at once the courage and religious gratitude of those who had won them. For these inscriptions imported, *That the Corinthians, and Timoleon their general, after having freed the Greeks settled in Sicily from the Carthaginian yoke, had hung up these arms in their temples, as an eternal acknowledgement of the favour and goodness of the gods.*

After this Timoleon, leaving the mercenary troops in the Carthaginian territories, to waste and destroy them, returned

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returned to Syracuse. On his arrival there, he banished the thousand soldiers who had deserted him; and took no other revenge, than the commanding them to leave Syracuse before sun-set.

After this victory gained by the Corinthians, they took a great many cities, which obliged the Carthaginians to sue for peace.

As all appearances of success made the Carthaginians vigorously exert themselves, to raise powerful armies both by land and sea, and behave with insolence and cruelty in prosperity; in like manner their courage would sink in unforeseen adversities, their hopes of new resources vanish, and their groveling souls condescend to ask quarter of the most inconsiderable enemy, and shamefully accept the hardest and most mortifying conditions. Those now imposed were, that they should possess only the lands lying beyond the river Halycus*; that they should give all the natives free liberty to retire to Syracuse with their families and effects; and that they should neither continue in the alliance, nor hold any correspondence with the tyrants of that city.

About this time, in all probability, there happened at Carthage a memorable incident, related by (t) Justin. Hanno, one of its most powerful citizens, formed a design of seizing upon the republick, by destroying the whole senate. He chose for the execution of this bloody scene, the day on which his daughter was to be married, on which occasion he designed to invite the senators to an entertainment, and there poison them all. The conspiracy was discovered; but Hanno had such credit, that the government did not dare to punish so execrable a crime: The magistrates contented themselves with only preventing it, by an order, which forbid, in general, too great a magnificence at weddings, and settled the expence on those occasions. Hanno seeing his stratagem defeated, resolved to employ open force, and for that purpose armed all the slaves. However he was again discovered; and, to

(t) Justin. l. xxi. c. 4.

* This river is not far from Agri-dorus and Plutarch, but this is gentum. It is called Lycus by Dio- thought a mistake.

to escape punishment, retired, with twenty thousand armed slaves, to a castle that was very strongly fortified; and there endeavoured, but without success, to engage in his rebellion the Africans, and the king of Mauritania. He afterwards was taken prisoner and carried to Carthage, where, after being whipped, his eyes were put out, his arms and thighs broke, his life taken away in the presence of the people, and his body, all torn with stripes, hung on a gibbet. His children and all his relations, though they had not joined in his guilt, shared in his punishment. They were all sentenced to die, in order that not a single person of his family might be left, either to imitate his crime or revenge his death. Such was the genius and cast of mind of the Carthaginians; ever severe and violent in their punishments, they carried them to the extremes and rigour, and made them extend even to the innocent, without showing the least regard to equity, moderation, or gratitude.

(u) I come now to the wars sustained by the Carthaginians, in Africa itself as well as in Sicily, against Agathocles, which exercised their arms during several years.

This Agathocles was a Sicilian, of obscure birth, and low fortune*. Supported at first by the power of the Carthaginians, he invaded the sovereignty of Syracuse, and made himself tyrant over it. In the infancy of his power, the Carthaginians kept him within bounds, and Hamilcar their chief forced him to agree to a peace, which restored tranquillity to Sicily. But he soon infringed

(u) A. M. 3683. A. Carth. 527. Rome 249. Ant. J. C. 319. Diod. l. xix. p. p. 651—656—710—712—737—743—760. Justin. l. ii. c. 1. 6.

* He was, according to most historians, the son of a potter, but all allow him to have worked at the trade. From the obscurity of his birth and condition, Polybius raises an argument to prove his capacity and talents, in opposition to the slanders of Timæus. But his greatest eulogium was the praise of Scipio. That illustrious Roman being asked,

who, in his opinion, were the most prudent in the conduct of their affairs, and most judiciously bold in the execution of their designs; answered, Agathocles and Dionysius. Polyb. l. xv. p. 1003. Edit. Gronov. However let his capacity have been ever so great, it was exceeded by his cruelties.

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fringed the articles of it, and declared war against the Carthaginians themselves, who under the conduct of Hamilcar, obtained a signal victory over him*, and forced him to shut himself up in Syracuse. The Carthaginians pursued him thither, and laid siege to that important city, which, if they could have taken, would have given them possession of all Sicily.

Agathocles, whose forces were greatly inferior to theirs, and who saw himself deserted by all his allies, from their abhorrence of his horrid cruelties, meditated a design of so daring, and, to all appearance, so impracticable a nature, that even success could hardly gain it belief. This design was no less than to make Africa the seat of war, and to besiege Carthage, at a time when he could neither defend himself in Sicily, nor sustain the siege of Syracuse. His profound secrecy in the execution is as astonishing as the design itself. He communicated his thoughts on this affair to no person whatsoever, but contented himself with declaring, that he had found out an infallible way to free the Syracusans from the dangers that surrounded them. That they would be but a little incommoded with a short siege; but that those who could not bring themselves to this resolution, might freely depart the city. Only sixteen hundred persons quitted it. He left his brother Antander there, with forces and provisions sufficient for him to make a stout defence. He set at liberty all slaves who were of age to bear arms, and, after obliging them to take an oath, joined them to his forces. He carried with him only fifty talents † to supply his present wants, well assured that he should find in the enemy's country whatever was necessary to his subsistence. He therefore set sail with two of his sons, Archagatheus and Heraclides, without letting one person know whither he intended his course. All who were on board his fleet, believed that they were to be conducted either to Italy or Sardinia, in order to plunder those countries, or to lay waste those coasts of Sicily which be-
longed

* The battle was fought near the river and city of Hymera.

† 50,000 French crowns, or 11,250*l.* sterling.

longed to Carthage. The Carthaginians, surpris'd at so unexpected a departure of the fleet, endeavour'd to prevent it; but Agathocles eluded their pursuit, and made for the main ocean.

He did not discover his design till he was got into Africa. There assembling his troops, he told them, in few words, the motives which had prompted him to this expedition. He represent'd, that the only way to free their country was to carry the war among their enemies: that he led them, who were inured to war and of intrepid dispositions, against a parcel of enemies who were softened and enervated by ease and luxury; that the natives of the country, oppress'd with the equally cruel and ignominious yoke of servitude, would run in crowds to join them on the first news of their arrival: that the boldness of their attempt would entirely disconcert the Carthaginians, who were altogether unprepared to repel an enemy at their gates; in fine, that no enterprise could possibly be more advantageous or honourable than this; since the whole wealth of Carthage would become the prey of the victors, whose courage would be praised and admired by latest posterity. The soldiers fancied themselves already masters of Carthage, and received his speech with applause and acclamations. One circumstance only gave them uneasiness, and that was an eclipse of the sun happening just as they were setting sail. In these ages even the most civilized and learned nations understood very little the reason of these extraordinary phenomena of nature; and used to draw from them (by their soothsayers) superstitious and arbitrary conjectures, which frequently would either suspend or hasten the most important enterprises. However, Agathocles revived the drooping courage of his soldiers, by assuring them that these eclipses always foretold some instant change: that, therefore, happiness was taking its leave of Carthage, and coming over to them.

Finding his soldiers in the good disposition he wish'd them, he execut'd, almost at the same time, a second enterprise which was more daring and hazardous than
even

even his first, viz. his carrying them over into Africa, and this was the burning every ship in his fleet. Many reasons determined him to so desperate an action. He had not one good harbour in Africa where his ships could lie in safety. As the Carthaginians were masters of the sea, they would not have failed to possess themselves immediately of his fleet, which was incapable of making the least resistance. In case he had left as many hands as were necessary to defend it, he would have weakened his army (which was inconsiderable at the best) and put it out of his power to make any advantage from this unexpected diversion, the success of which depended entirely on the swiftness and vigour of the execution. Lastly, he was desirous of putting his soldiers under a necessity of conquering, by leaving them no other refuge but victory. A prodigious courage was necessary to work up his army to such a resolution. He had already prepared all his officers, who were entirely devoted to his service, and received every impression he gave them. He then came suddenly into the assembly with a crown upon his head, dressed in a magnificent habit, and with the air and behaviour of a man who was going to perform some religious ceremony, and addressing himself to the assembly, "When we, says he, left Syracuse, and were warmly pursued by the enemy; in this fatal necessity I applied myself to Ceres and Proserpine, the tutelar divinities of Sicily; and promised, that if they would free us from this imminent danger, I would burn all our ships in their honour, at our first landing here. Aid me therefore, O Soldiers, to discharge my vow; for the goddesses can easily make us amends for this sacrifice." At the same time, taking a flambeau in his hand, he hastily led the way, and flying on board his own ship, set it on fire. All the officers did the like, and were cheerfully followed by the soldiers. The trumpets sounded from every quarter, and the whole army echoed with joyful shouts and acclamations. The fleet was soon consumed. The soldiers had not been allowed time to reflect on the proposal made to them. They all had been

been hurried on by a blind and impetuous ardour; but when they had a little recovered their reason, and surveying in their minds the vast ocean which separated them from their own country, saw themselves in that of the enemy without the least resource, or any means of escaping out of it; a sad and melancholy silence succeeded the transport of joy and acclamations, which, but a moment before, had been so general in the army.

Here again Agathocles left no time for reflection. He marched his army towards a place called the Great City, which was part of the domain of Carthage. The country, through which they marched to this place, afforded the most delicious and agreeable prospect in the world. On either side were seen large meads watered by beautiful streams, and covered with innumerable flocks of all kinds of cattle; country-seats built with extraordinary magnificence; delightful avenues planted with olive and all sorts of fruit trees; gardens of a prodigious extent, and kept with a care and elegance which gave the eye a sensible pleasure. This prospect re-animated the soldiers. They marched full of courage to the Great City, which they took sword in hand, and enriched themselves with the plunder of it, which was entirely abandoned to them. Tunis, which was not far distant from Carthage, made as little resistance.

The Carthaginians were in prodigious alarm, when it was known that the enemy was in the country, advancing by hasty marches. This arrival of Agathocles made the Carthaginians conclude, that their army before Syracuse had been defeated, and their fleet lost. The people ran in disorder to the great square of the city, whilst the senate assembled in haste and in a tumultuous manner. Immediately they deliberated on the means for preserving the city. They had no army in readiness to oppose the enemy; and their imminent danger did not permit them to wait the arrival of those forces which might be raised in the country, and among the allies. It was therefore resolved, after several different opinions had been heard, to arm the citizens. The number of the forces thus levied, amounted to forty thousand foot, a
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thousand horse, and two thousand armed chariots. Hanno and Bomilcar, though divided betwixt themselves by some family quarrels, were however joined in the command of these troops. They marched immediately to meet the enemy, and, on sight of them, drew up their forces in order of battle. * Agathocles had, at most, but thirteen or fourteen thousand men. The signal was given, and an obstinate fight ensued. Hanno, with his sacred cohort, (the flower of the Carthaginian forces) long sustained the fury of the Greeks, and sometimes broke their ranks; but, at last, overwhelmed with a shower of stones, and covered with wounds, he fell sword in hand. Bomilcar might have changed the face of things; but he had private and personal reasons not to obtain a victory for his country. He therefore thought proper to retire with the forces under his command, and was followed by the whole army, which by that means, was forced to leave the field to Agathocles. After pursuing the enemy some time, he returned, and plundered the Carthaginian camp. Twenty thousand pair of manacles were found in it, with which the Carthaginians had furnished themselves, in the firm persuasion of their taking many prisoners. By this victory, they had an opportunity of taking a great number of strong holds, and many Africans joined the victor.

(y) This descent of Agathocles into Africa, doubtless hinted to Scipio the design of making a like attempt upon the same republick, and from the same place. Wherefore in his answer to Fabius, who ascribed to temerity his design of making Africa the seat of the war, he forgot not to mention Agathocles, as an instance in favour of his enterprize; and to show, that frequently there is no other way to get rid of an enemy, who presses too

(y) Liv. l. xxviii. n. 43.

* Agathocles wanting arms for many of his soldiers, provided them with such as were counterfeit, which looked well at a distance. And perceiving the discouragement his forces were under, on sight of the enemy's

horse, he let fly a great many owls (privately procured for that purpose) which his soldiers interpreted as an omen and assurance of victory. Diod. ad Ann. 3. Olymp. 117.

too closely upon us, than by carrying the war into his own country; and that men are much more courageous, when they act upon the offensive, than when they stand only upon the defensive.

(z) While the Carthaginians were thus warmly attacked by their enemies, ambassadors came to them from Tyre. They came to implore their succour against Alexander the Great, who was upon the point of taking their city, which he had long besieged. The extremity to which their countrymen (for so they called them) were reduced, touched the Carthaginians as sensibly as their own danger. Though they were unable to relieve, they at least thought it their duty to comfort them; and sending thirty of their principal citizens, by those deputies they expressed their grief, that they could not spare them any troops, because of the present melancholy situation of their own affairs. The Tyrians, though disappointed of the only hope they had left, did not however dispond; they committed their wives, children*, and old men, to the care of these deputies; when, being delivered from all inquietude, with regard to persons who were dearer to them than any thing in the world, they had no thoughts but of making a resolute defence, prepared for the worst that might happen. Carthage received this afflicted company with all possible marks of amity, and paid to guests who were so dear and worthy of compassion, all the services which they could have expected from the most affectionate and tender parents.

Quintus Curtius places this embassy from Tyre to the Carthaginians at the same time that the Syracusans ravaged Africa, and were before Carthage. But the expedition of Agathocles against Africa cannot agree in time with the siege of Tyre, which was twenty years before it.

At the same time this city was solicitous how to extricate itself from the difficulties with which it was surrounded. The present unhappy state of the republick

(z) Diod. l. xvii. p. 519. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 3.

* Τῶν τέκνων ἃ γυναῖκων μέγ', some of their wives and children. Diod. l. xvii—xli.

was considered as the effect of the wrath of the gods: and it was acknowledged to be justly deserved, particularly with regard to two deities, to whom the Carthaginians had been wanting with respect to duties prescribed by their religion, and which had once been observed with great exactness. It was a custom (coeval with the city itself) in Carthage, to send annually to Tyre (the mother-city) the tenth of all the revenues of the republick, as an offering to Hercules, the patron and protector of both Tyre and Carthage. The domain, and consequently the revenues of Carthage, having increased considerably, the portion or share, on the contrary, of the god, had been lessened; and they were far from remitting the whole tenth to him. They were seized with a scruple in this respect: they made an open and publick confession of their insincerity, and sacrilegious avarice; and to expiate their guilt, they sent to Tyre a great number of presents, and small shrines of their deities all of gold, which amounted to a prodigious value.

Another violation of religion, which to their inhuman superstition seemed as flagrant as the former, gave them no less uneasiness. Anciently, children of the best families in Carthage used to be sacrificed to Saturn. Here they reproached themselves with a failure of paying to the god the honours which they thought were due to him; and of fraud and dishonest dealings with regard to him, by their having substituted, in their sacrifices, children of slaves or beggars, bought for that purpose, in the room of those nobly born. To expiate the guilt of so horrid an impiety, a sacrifice was made, to the bloody god, of two hundred children of the first rank; and upwards of three hundred persons, in a sense of this terrible neglect, offered themselves voluntarily as victims, to pacify, by the effusion of their blood, the wrath of the gods.

After these expiations, expresses were dispatched to Hamilcar in Sicily, with the news of what had happened in Africa, and at the same time, to request immediate succours. The deputies were commanded not to mention the

victory of Agathocles; but spread a contrary report, that he had been entirely defeated, all his forces cut off, and his whole fleet taken by the Carthaginians; and, in confirmation of this report, he showed the irons of the vessels pretended to be taken, which had been carefully sent to him. The truth of this report was not at all doubted in Syracuse; the majority were for capitulating*; when a galley of thirty oars, built in haste by Agathocles, arrived in the port, and through great difficulties and dangers forced its way to the besieged. The news of Agathocles's victory immediately flew through the city, and restored life and resolution to the inhabitants. Hamilcar made a last effort to storm the city, but was beat off with loss. He then raised the siege, and sent five thousand men to the relief of his distressed country. (a) Some time after, being returned to the siege, and hoping to surprise the Syracusans, by attacking them in the night, his design was discovered; and falling alive into the enemy's hands, was put to death†. Hamilcar's head was sent immediately to Agathocles, who, advancing to the enemy's camp, threw it into a general consternation by showing the head of this general, which manifested the melancholy situation of their affairs in Sicily.

(b) To these foreign enemies was joined a domestick one, which was more to be feared, as being more dangerous than the others; this was Bomilcar their general, who was then in possession of the first employment in Carthage. He had long meditated how to make himself tyrant, and attain the sovereignty of Carthage; and imagined,

(a) Diod. p. 767—69.

(b) Diod. p. 779—781. Justin. l. xxii. c. 7.

* And the most forward of all the rest, was Antander, the brother of Agathocles, left commander in his absence; who was so terrified with the report, that he was eager for having the city surrendered, and expelled out of it eight thousand inhabitants who were of a contrary opinion.

† He was cruelly tortured till he died, and so met with the fate which his fellow-citizens, offended at his

conduct in Sicily, had probably allotted for him at home. He was too formidable to be attacked at the head of his army, and therefore the votes of the senate (whatever they were) being, according to custom, cast into a vessel, it was immediately closed, with an order not to uncover it, till he was returned, and had thrown up his commission. Justin. xxii. c. 3.

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imagined, that the present troubles offered him the wished for opportunity. He therefore entered the city with this ambitious view; when, being seconded by a small number of citizens, who were the accomplices of this rebellion, and a body of foreign soldiers, he proclaimed himself tyrant; and made himself literally such, by cutting the throats of all the citizens, whom he met with in the streets. A tumult arising immediately in the city, it was first thought that the enemy had taken it by some treachery; but when it was known that Bomilcar caused all this disturbance, the young men took up arms to repel the tyrant, and from the tops of the houses discharged whole volleys of darts and stones upon the heads of his soldiers. When he saw an army marching in order against him he retired with his troops to an eminence, with design to make a vigorous defence, and to sell his life as dear as possible. To spare the blood of the citizens, a general pardon was proclaimed for all who would lay down their arms. They surrendered upon this proclamation, and all enjoyed the benefit of it, Bomilcar their chief excepted; for he, notwithstanding the general indemnity promised by oath, was condemned to die, and fixed to a cross, where he suffered the most exquisite torments. From the cross, as from a rostrum, he harangued the people; and thought himself justly impowered to reproach them for their injustice, their ingratitude, and perfidy, which he did in an historical deduction of many illustrious generals, whose services they had rewarded with an ignominious death. He expired on the cross amidst these reproaches*.

(g) Agathocles had won over to his interest a powerful

(g) Diod. p. 777.—779—791—802. Justin. l. xxii. c. 7, 8.

* It would seem incredible, that any man would so far triumph over the pains of the cross, as to talk with any coherence in his discourse; had not Seneca assured us, that some have so far despised and insulted its torments, that they spit contemptuously upon the spectators. *Quidam ex patibulo suos spectatores conspuerunt, De vita beata, c. 19.*

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king of Cyrene, named Ophellas, whose ambition he had flattered with the most splendid hopes, and artful insinuations, *viz.* by saying, that, contenting himself with Sicily, he would leave to Ophellas the empire of Africa. But, as Agathocles did not scruple to commit the most horrid crimes, to promote his ambition and interest, the credulous prince had no sooner put himself and his army in his power, than by the blackest perfidy, he was murdered by him, in order that Ophellas's army might be entirely at his devotion. Many nations were now joined in alliance with Agathocles, and several strong holds had admitted his garrisons. He saw the affairs of Africa in a flourishing condition, and therefore thought it proper to look after those of Sicily; accordingly he sailed back thither, and left his African army to the care of his son Archagathus. His renown, and the report of his victories, flew before him.

On the news of his arrival in Sicily, many towns revolted to him; but bad news soon recalled him to Africa. His absence had quite changed the face of things; and all his arts and endeavours were incapable of restoring them to their former condition. All his strong holds had surrendered to the enemy; the Africans had deserted him; some of his troops were lost, and the remainder unable to make head against the Carthaginians: a circumstance that was still worse, he had no way to transport them into Sicily, the enemy being masters at sea, and himself unprovided of ships: he could not hope for either peace or treaty with the Barbarians, since he had insulted them in so outrageous a manner, by his being the first who had dared to make a descent in their country. In this extremity, he thought only of providing for his own safety.

After meeting with a variety of adventures, this base deserter of his army, and perfidious betrayer of his own children, who were left by him to the wild fury of his disappointed soldiers, stole away from the dangers which hung over him, and arrived at Syracuse with very few persons.

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sons. His foldiers, seeing themselves thus betrayed, murdered his sons, and surrendered to the enemy. Himself died miserably soon after, and ended, by a cruel death*, a life that had been polluted with the blackest crimes.

(b) In this period may be placed another incident related by Justin. The fame of Alexander's conquest made the Carthaginians fear, that he, very probably, might think of turning his arms towards Africa.

The disastrous fate of Tyre; whence they drew their origin, and which he had so lately destroyed; the building of Alexandria upon the confines of Africa and Egypt, as if he intended it as a rival city to Carthage; the uninterrupted successes of that prince, whose ambition and good fortune were boundless; all this justly alarmed the Carthaginians. To sound his inclinations, Hamilcar, surnamed Rhodanus, pretending to have been driven from his country by the cabals of his enemies, went over to the camp of Alexander, to whom he was introduced by Parmenio, and offered him his services. The king received him graciously, and had several conferences with him.

Hamilcar did not fail to transmit to his country, whatever discoveries he made from time to time of Alexander's designs. Nevertheless, on his return to Carthage, after Alexander's death, he was considered as a betrayer of his country to that prince, and accordingly was put to death by a sentence, which displayed equally the ingratitude and cruelty of his countrymen.

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(b) Justin. l. xxi. c. 6.

* He was poisoned by one Mænon whom he had unnaturally abused. His teeth were putrified by the violence of the poison, and his body tortured all over with the most racking pains. Mænon was excited to this deed by Archagathus, grandson of Agathocles, whom he signed to de-

feat of the succession, in favour of his other son Agathocles. Before his death, he restored the democracy to the people. It is observable, that Justin (or rather Trogus) and Diodorus disagree in all the material parts of this tyrant's history.

(i) I am now to speak of the wars of the Carthaginians in Sicily, in the time of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. The Romans, to whom the designs of that ambitious prince were not unknown, to strengthen themselves against any attempts he might make upon Italy had renewed their treaties with the Carthaginians, who, on their side, were no less afraid of his coming into Sicily. To the articles of the preceding treaties, there was added an engagement of mutual assistance, in case either of the contracting powers should be attacked by Pyrrhus.

(k) The foresight of the Romans was very just; for Pyrrhus turned his arms against Italy, and gained many victories. The Carthaginians, in consequence of the last treaty, thought themselves obliged to assist the Romans and accordingly sent them a fleet of sixscore sail, under the command of Mago. This general, in an audience before the senate, signified to them the concern his superiors took in the war, which they heard was carrying on against the Romans, and offered them their assistance. The senate returned thanks for the obliging offer of the Carthaginians, but at present thought fit to decline it.

(l) Mago, some days after, repaired to Pyrrhus, upon pretence of offering the mediation of Carthage for terminating his quarrel with the Romans; but in reality to sound him, and discover, if possible, his designs with regard to Sicily, which common fame reported he was going to invade. They were afraid that either Pyrrhus or the Romans would interfere in the affairs of that island, and transport forces thither for the conquest of it. And indeed, the Syracusans, who had been besieged for some time by the Carthaginians, had sent pressing for succour to Pyrrhus. This prince had a particular reason to espouse their interests, having married Lanassa, daughter

(i) A. M. 3727. A. Carth. 569. A. Rom. 471. Ant. J. C. 277. iii. p. 250. Edit. Gronov.

(k) Justin. l. xviii. c. 2.

(l) Ibid.

of Agáthocles, by whom he had a son named Alexander.

He at last sailed from Tarentum, passed the Strait, and arrived in Sicily. His conquests at first were so rapid, that he left the Carthaginians, in the whole island, only the single town of Lilybæum. He then laid siege to it, but, meeting with a vigorous resistance, was obliged to break up; not to mention that the urgent necessity of his affairs called him back to Italy, where his presence was absolutely necessary. Nor was it less so in Sicily, which, on his departure, returned to the obedience of its former masters. Thus he lost this island with the same rapidity that he had won it. As he was embarking, turning his eyes back to Sicily, (m) *What a fine field of battle**, said he to those about him, *do we leave the Carthaginians and Romans!* His prediction was soon verified.

After his departure, the chief publick employment of Syracuse was conferred on Hiero, who afterwards obtained the name and dignity of king, by the united suffrages of the citizens, so greatly had his government pleased. He was appointed to carry on the war against the Carthaginians, and obtained several advantages over them. But now a common interest re-united them against a new enemy, who began to appear in Sicily, and justly alarmed both: these were the Romans, who, having crushed all the enemies which had hitherto exercised their arms in Italy itself, were now powerful enough to carry them out of it; and to lay the foundation of that vast power there, to which they afterwards attained, and of which it was probable they had even then formed the design. Sicily lay too commodious for them, not to form a resolution

(m) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 398.

* Οἷα γὰρ πολεῖσθαι, ὡς φίλοι, Δαρ-
χιδαιῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων; πολεῖσθαι. The
Greek word is beautiful. Indeed
Sicily was a kind of Palæstra, where
the Carthaginians and Romans exer-
cised themselves in war, and for

many years seemed to play the part
of wrestlers with each other. The
English language, as well as the
French has no word to express the
Greek term,

tion, of establishing themselves in it. They therefore eagerly snatched this opportunity for crossing into it, which caused the rupture between them and the Carthaginians, and gave rise to the first Punic war. This I shall treat of more at large, by relating the causes of that war.

END OF VOL. I.



Feast of Bacchus 36

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